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The New York Times Presidential politics, Iranian style 8-page pullout

World's a zoo in 'Fierce Creatures' Arts & Entertainment



Hong Kong: Final countdown Index
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Inner cabinet demands PA crack down on terror

By MICHAEL YUDELMAN
Israel is conditioning the continuation of the peace process with the Palestinians on Palestinian Authority Chairman Yasser Arafat proving he is acting effectively to stop terrorism...



Bombed cafe reopens
A defiant Purim reveler sits in the reopened Apropro cafe yesterday. Story, Page 2. (Israel Sam)

Ya'alon: Arafat okayed terror

Army chiefs warn of future attacks

By JON IMMANUEL and Jerusalem Post Staff
Palestinian Authority Chairman Yasser Arafat gave the green light to the radical organizations to carry out attacks... OC Intelligence Maj. Gen. Moshe Ya'alon said yesterday...

PM to Arafat: Attacks must end, Page 2

However, Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu said yesterday he is not suspending talks with the PA.
'Well, I'm not suspending talks because our people are meeting with their people, but the first item on the agenda is the fulfillment of the Palestinian obligation to fight terrorism...

PM denies talking unity gov't with Peres

By SARAH HONG
Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu denied last night in an interview with CNN that he raised the subject of a national unity government with Labor leader Shimon Peres...

Hussein to get Technion award

By DAVID RUDGE
The Technion is to award Jordan's King Hussein an honorary doctorate in recognition of his leadership and commitment to peace in the Middle East.
Hussein already has been informed of the award and has accepted an invitation to come to the Technion for the presentation...

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Arafat to Moslems: 'Save' Jerusalem

ISLAMABAD (AP) — Palestinian Authority Chairman Yasser Arafat warned yesterday that the peace process was on the verge of collapse and issued a plea to Islamic leaders worldwide to "rescue" Jerusalem from Israel.

achievements and the hopes that were raised because of that process," said Arafat. Without saying what he expected from the Islamic world, Arafat said it was the "duty" of all Moslems "to rescue Jerusalem from the settlements, from the danger of Judaism."

Arafat, who arrived late Saturday, had kept his participation a secret until the final hour. The Pakistani army parolled outside the summit site, a \$14 million convention center commissioned by former prime minister Benazir Bhutto to mark Pakistan's anniversary of independence.

NEWS

in brief

41 killed in February traffic accidents

A total of 41 people were killed in 33 traffic accidents in February, the Central Bureau of Statistics announced yesterday. Last month, there were a total of 1,707 accidents, in which 2,985 people were injured, 234 of them seriously.

Jerusalem Post Staff

French space agency head arrives today

The president of the France Space Agency, Prof. Alain Ben-Shoshan, arrives today as a guest of the Israel Space Agency (ISA), reciprocating a visit to his country by ISA director Aby Har-Even.

Judy Siegel

Two Palestinians wounded at checkpoint

Soldiers shot and wounded two Palestinians at the Gilo checkpoint south of Jerusalem yesterday morning, after one tried to enter Israel with a forged Israeli identity card, and tried to flee when the forgery was discovered.

According to the IDF Spokesman, soldiers who searched the Palestinian found his Palestinian identity card, at which point the man fled towards a waiting car. Soldiers fired in the air, but when the man did not stop and jumped into the car, the soldiers fired at the car, wounding the man and another man inside. A third man who was in the car fled and headed towards Bethlehem.

AP

Regional virus conference opens in Eilat

The First International Workshop on Viruses in Humans, Animals, Fish and Plants in the Middle East and Neighboring Countries opened yesterday at the Inter-University Institute for Marine Sciences in Eilat.

The workshop, which is examining ways of combating viruses common to the region, aims at establishing a network of viral-disease laboratories in the area. Some 70 participants, including health officials from Egypt, Jordan and the Palestinian Authority, are here for the workshop, which is sponsored by the UNESCO-Hebrew University International School for Molecular Biology and Microbiology.

Judy Siegel

Rabin memorial sculpture defaced in capital

A sculpture adjacent to Jerusalem's City Hall dedicated to former prime minister Yitzhak Rabin was found defaced yesterday morning with the words "Rabin the murderer" scrawled on its base.

The Roy Liechtenstein sculpture, which was dedicated by Mayor Ehud Olmert just three weeks ago, had been presented to the city by the Israel Museum.

"It's highly disrespectful to the memory of Yitzhak Rabin," said James Soyder, director of the museum. "It's disrespectful of the work, and the spirit in which the sculpture was given to the city, which was for a public display as a memorial and not as a political statement."

Police are investigating the incident. Elli Wohlgelemer

Golan resident suspected of throwing bomb

A resident of Majdal Shams was arrested yesterday on suspicion of throwing a firebomb Saturday night at an IDF jeep near what is known as the Sbouing Hill, on the outskirts of the Golan Heights village.

The soldiers did not notice that the firebomb, which did not ignite, had been thrown. The remains of the bomb were discovered yesterday morning and trackers followed traces left by the suspect to his hiding place.

The suspect was interrogated by security personnel and admitted throwing the firebomb. David Ridge

Youth remanded for vandalizing bus

The Acre Magistrate's Court yesterday remanded for six days a 17-year-old suspected of drawing a swastika and writing anti-Semitic statements on the seats of the Egged bus that transports students from two Arab villages to their high school. The driver found the writing while inspecting the bus and the youth was detained soon afterwards.

Itim



A Palestinian youth hurls a petrol bomb at IDF soldiers in Hebron yesterday.

IDF lifts Hebron curfew

The IDF yesterday lifted the curfew that had been in effect since Friday in Hebron. The curfew had been imposed after severe rioting took place in Hebron on Friday and Saturday, leaving over 100 wounded in severe clashes between Palestinians and the IDF.

"The children will walk from Tel Rumeida to the Machpela Cave," said Hebron community spokesman Noam Aron, adding that all was quiet in the Jewish quarters.

Meanwhile, the IDF closed the section of the road leading from Rachel's Tomb to the entrance of Bethlehem (Arca A) to all vehicles after cars were stoned. The IDF Spokesman stressed that Rachel's Tomb remained open to worshippers.

Bombing unlikely to affect Pessah tourism

Last week's bomb in Tel Aviv may well hit tourism in Israel, but for Heidi Bruendler, who was in Eilat for an industry forum on travel to the Red Sea resort, the tragedy seemed as far away as her native Switzerland.

International TB Day marked today

International Tuberculosis Day will be marked today here and abroad, as the number of cases is on the upswing. The Health Ministry is marking the occasion with its first national workshop on controlling TB, which to open at the Rabin Medical Center-Beilinson Campus.

More funds needed to launch student satellite

The Israeli Space Agency and the Technion are seeking additional funding to ensure that the students' satellite, TechSat 2, gets off the ground. Aby Har-Even, director-general of the agency, which, under the auspices of the Science Ministry, is one of the main financial backers of the satellite project, said several hundred thousand dollars are still required.

Lau forgoes wedding income

Chief Rabbi Yisrael Lau said yesterday that he will no longer accept money for officiating at weddings and instead recommend that couples contribute to charity. "I have a responsibility to create a new public standard," he said.

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Hong Kong nears end of colonial rule

News agencies
HONG KONG - With colonial rule ending in 100 days, thousands of people celebrated Hong Kong's impending return to China by marching, jogging or planting trees yesterday.
 Along their route, the marchers mostly ignored four people demonstrating with tape over their mouths in a silent protest against the erosion of press freedom they expect after the July 1 change of sovereignty. A gray drizzle blanketed the British colony as it marked the last countdown to the handover but there were few signs that gloom would cast a pall over the final days of colonial rule.
 Organizers said more than 6,000 people joined in a two-kilometer march that began in a park named after Queen Victoria, who reigned when Britain set up the colony in 1841.
 Far to the north of Hong Kong, hundreds of Beijing residents checked off the seconds as the digital clock in the Chinese capital's Tiananmen Square flashed down to midnight and the 100-day mark for the recovery of Hong Kong.
 "We have endured 100 years of shame, 100 years of resistance and 100 years of waiting," said

China's *Guangming Daily*. "Now in another 100 days, the hopes of generations will be realized."
 For the vast majority of Hong Kong's 6.4 million hardworking populace, it was just another Sunday, a welcome day off for a community which works a five-and-a-half day week.
 The marchers beat drums, blew trumpets and waved both five-star Chinese flags and post-colonial Hong Kong flags of bauhinia flower petals. Some of the colorful banners read: "Welcome return to China," and "Stable transition."
 Near the queen's bronze statue in the park, marchers passed by the four demonstrators, who held a Chinese flag dyed black and were closely guarded by dozens of policemen.
 "We support the end of colonial rule," said Lee Kin-yin, 19, one of the protesters. "But Hong Kong should return to a country that cares about the interests of its people."
 "They are singing and dancing to cover up the gloomy future," said Lee, protesting China's plans to water down Hong Kong's human rights laws.
 Lydia Lau, a legal firm secretary, disagreed.
 Lau, who took her 3-year-old boy along on the march, said she

did not like confrontation, and was excited about Hong Kong's impending return to its mother country.
 "At last it's coming. We've waited long," she said.
 Because of China's growing economy, Lau said she was confident that Hong Kong would continue its growth after the handover.
 Chan Kam-bung, a jewelry shop salesman, clapped his hands while watching the march in front of his shop, on a main street frequently used for pro-democracy mass rallies.
 "Today's march is peaceful and fun to watch. I am tired of protest rallies. I worry that people would get too emotional and might take radical action," said Chan.
 As a guest on a regular weekly program on government radio, Gov. Chris Patten urged China to honor its promise that Hong Kong can maintain a high degree of autonomy for 50 years.
 "I hope that some of China's advisers will stop seeing Hong Kong in terms of a struggle, will stop tilting against so-called British windmills," Patten said.
 He said Hong Kong should be governed "with a light touch."
 "You can't turn the clock back on what Hong Kong has become, any more than you can reverse



Hong Kong residents wave Chinese flags at a rally yesterday celebrating the 100-day countdown to Chinese rule.

the countdown." Patten has been at odds with Beijing for his political reforms in Hong Kong, made without China's approval.
 "Hong Kong is, as I said recently, a smoothly functioning community. It's like a Rolls Royce," Patten said in a Radio Hong Kong broadcast.
 "All you need to do if you're in charge is to slip into the driving seat, switch on the ignition and away you go."
 "I don't quite see the point of

lifting the bonnet to tinker with the engine. That only raises worries about whether it will work so well, and whether you may be persuaded by some people to start stripping it down for spare parts." China's envoy to Hong Kong, Zhou Nan, brushed aside these concerns and urged Hong Kong people to unite around future leader Tung Chee-hwa, a 59-year-old shipping magnate anointed by Beijing in December to step into Patten's shoes.

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Dalai Lama in Taiwan

KAOHSIUNG, Taiwan (AP) - About 40,000 followers packed an outdoor stadium yesterday as the Dalai Lama, the exiled Tibetan spiritual leader, preached Buddhism in a light rain on his first visit to Taiwan.
 Sitting in front of a Tanka Tibetan holy painting, the Dalai Lama delivered a two-hour sermon on Buddhist philosophy at Chungchung Stadium.
 China, which claims Taiwan and has governed Tibet with military force since a 1950 invasion, has condemned his visit as a plot to split the country.
 The Dalai Lama is scheduled to meet Taiwan President Lee Teng-hui before ending his six-day visit - an event China sees as a pairing of "splitists."
 But during a tour of a Buddhist temple earlier yesterday, the Dalai Lama told well-wishers he hoped the Han Chinese and Tibetans could get along and help each other because a harmonious relationship would bring good for both.
 Intense media scrutiny and crowds of protesters for and against his visit have led to tight security around the Dalai Lama. His limousine was sandwiched in a 20-car motorcade, a treatment usually reserved for foreign heads of state.
 Crowds followed wherever he went, but many seemed more awed by his celebrity status than his religious authority. Most Taiwanese follow a mixture of Buddhism, Taoism and Chinese folk religion.

US troops in Congo on Zaire standby

BRAZZAVILLE, Congo - A US Army airborne unit arrived in Brazzaville yesterday to prepare for the possible evacuation of Americans and other foreigners from neighboring Zaire.
 A C-17 transport plane carrying equipment and the first of about 100 paratroopers based in northern Italy landed at midday in Brazzaville, just across the Zaire River from the Zairian capital of Kinshasa.
 Belgium planned to send 600 troops last night and today. A 30-person US military vanguard and more than 100 French soldiers on a similar mission arrived yesterday.
 About 500 American civilians are in embattled Zaire, including about 320 in Kinshasa. There are also an estimated 7,000 Europeans in Kinshasa, including 3,000 Belgians and 1,000 French citizens.
 Rebels opposed to ailing President Mobutu Sese Seko control a vast swath of eastern Zaire, and their leaders denounce talk of cease-fires.
 The ailing president returned to the forefront of Zaire's political stage yesterday to receive a letter from South African President Nelson Mandela on ending the war with rebels fighting for Mobutu's overthrow.
 Mandela's deputy Thabo Mbeki, who delivered the letter, said afterwards that a UN peace plan for a truce and talks was at the heart of efforts to end Zaire's five-month-old civil war.
 But rebel leader Laurent Kabila, speaking in Zaire's captured third city of Kisangani, once again ruled out calls for a truce before talks - a message 10,000 supporters endorsed before U.N. special envoy Mohamed Sahnoun.
 Mobutu, looking tired and thin but wearing his trademark leopard-skin hat and a dark suit, was appearing in public for the first time since returning home from France on Friday.
 "I am Mobutu. I have returned not to devote myself to Mobutu's interests or Mobutu's fortune as you write from time to time but to the higher interests of Zaire," he told journalists.
 "That is to say our unity, our territorial integrity." Asked how he felt, Mobutu, who left hospital in Monaco after fresh cancer treatment on Wednesday, replied: "The way I look." Mobutu, who has spent most of his time in Europe since prostate cancer surgery in August, welcomed Mbeki with an embrace. Zaire's embattled Prime Minister Kengo wa Dondo attended the talks which lasted about half an hour.
 Aides to Mbeki, who was at the heart of a bid by Mandela to broker peace between Mobutu and the rebels last month, said Mobutu had promised a reply to the letter within 48 hours.
 "He is studying that communication and will be responding to it fairly shortly," Mbeki told reporters. "We are convinced that in the immediate future steps will be taken practically to move the peace process forward towards a resolution."
 He said the UN Security Council had spelled out "a very important position" in a resolution and he highlighted its call for a ceasefire and negotiations. "I think that these are particular matters of focus that everyone is looking at," he added.

Police smash Belarus protest

MINSK (AP) - An estimated 10,000 people marched to a "Day of Freedom" rally yesterday, the latest in a series of demonstrations against the Soviet-style rule of Belarus President Alexander Lukashenko.
 Police used clubs and tear gas in an attempt to break up the march, which was unauthorized, but made no attempt to stop the rally itself. No serious injuries were reported.
 Police detained about 300 people, according to Vyacheslav Sivchik, secretary of the opposition Belarusian Popular Front, which sponsored the rally. He said authorities boarded trains to arrest Popular Front delegations from the cities of Brest, Baranovich and Kobrin.
 Among those detained for taking

Police smash Belarus protest

part in the march were the first secretary of the US Embassy in Belarus, Serge Alexandrov, an ethnic Belarusian, and former Interior Minister Yuri Zakharenko, the Interfax news agency reported.
 The march and rally were timed to coincide with the 79th anniversary of the proclamation of Belarus' short-lived Popular Republic.
 "We are here not only to pay tribute to the historic event, but to express our support of democratic and sovereign way of development," declared Semyon Sharetzky, a leader of the Popular Front and former speaker of the parliament that was dissolved by Lukashenko.
 "We must fight for this," he added.

Report: Swiss banks helped prolong war

LONDON (AP) - Swiss help in financing Nazi Germany extended World War II for two years, the *Independent on Sunday* newspaper reported.
 The newspaper detailed allegations by Swiss professor Jean Ziegler, who says gold-for-currency swaps between Swiss banks and Berlin gave vital help to the Nazi war machine from 1943 to 1945.
 "I consider it proven that the Swiss contributed significantly to the prolonging of the war," Ziegler, sociology professor at Geneva and Sorbonne universities, told the newspaper.
 Ziegler makes the claim in a newly published book, *Switzerland, the Gold and the Dead*, published recently in German and French.
 "Without the fencing of stolen gold, the Reich would have had no currency, no possibility of buying strategic materials and... the Wehrmacht would have faltered," the Ziegler was quoted as saying.
 "Hitler was dependent on the Swiss dealing in stolen gold," he added.
 Ziegler told the newspaper material from his research came from German archive sources such as the German Armaments Ministry.
 Ziegler quoted a memorandum, dated May 1943, from Walther Funk, head of the Reichsbank, saying he "could not forgo Swiss foreign currency dealings, particularly not the conversion of gold into hard currency, for longer than two months."

Nixon ordered 'kike' booted

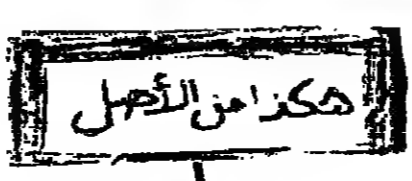
By TOM TUGEND
LOS ANGELES - A federal immigration official was labeled as a "kike" by President Richard Nixon, according to recently released White House tapes of Nixon's phone conversations.
 The official was George Rosenberg, district director of the US Immigration and Naturalization Service in Los Angeles.
 In early October 1971, Rosenberg's agents had caught 36 illegal immigrants in a raid on a food processing company owned by Romana Banuelos. Three weeks earlier, Banuelos had been named by Nixon to be Treasurer of the United States.
 On Oct. 7, in a taped phone conversation, Nixon ordered Attorney General John N. Mitchell to transfer Rosenberg to another post.
 "The fellow out there in the immigration service is a kike by the name of Rosenberg," said Nixon. "He is out. He is to be out."
 "Transfer him to some other place out of Los Angeles. I don't give a goddamn what the story is! He went on television. You put him out for going on television, which is a violation."
 Nixon's slur was contained in tapes recently opened for public inspection by the National Archives. It is cited in the April issue of the *American Journalism Review*, according to a news story in last Saturday's *Los Angeles Times*.
 The *Times* had reported the arrest of the illegal immigrants at Banuelos' company in the same Oct. 7 phone conversation. Nixon ordered Mitchell to conduct an INS raid on the newspaper in search of illegal immigrants.

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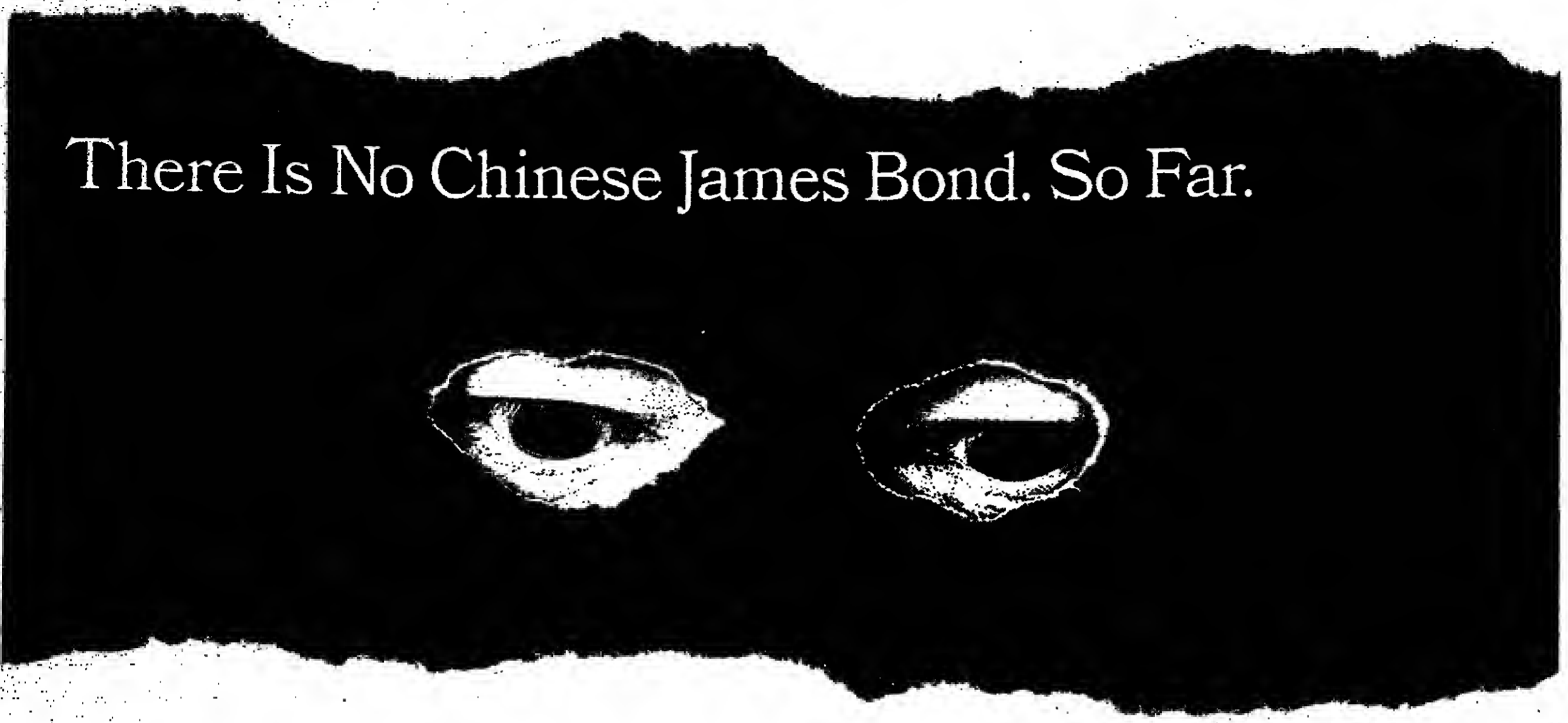
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Cloak and Dragon



There Is No Chinese James Bond. So Far.

Photograph by Naum Kazhdan/The New York Times

By PATRICK E. TYLER

IN the spy-versus-spy atmosphere of the cold war, countless millions of readers everywhere followed the modern world's Great Game, both the reality of it and the fiction of it. The espionage business was — is — a culture, the culture of spying and spies, their codes, their honor or lack thereof, their secret victories, their spectacular failures, their wonderful gadgets and even their sexual dalliances out there on the edge.

Now China's spies are suddenly on stage, thrust forward by revelations suggesting that the Chinese Government may have targeted members of Congress to gain influence through illicit campaign contributions, or that its operatives may have tried to penetrate the White House itself by insinuating themselves into the Clinton campaign's huge effort to raise money.

Maybe China's spies targeted U.S. politics. Maybe they didn't. But who are they?

shur) during the Spring and Autumn Period (770 to 476 B.C.). Dispatched by the cunning ruler of the Yue Kingdom in a successful campaign to vanquish the Wu Kingdom, she may have been the first spy to prove the theory that a knock-em-dead courtesan can so distract an enemy that he may be blinded to preparations for war.

culture of mass espionage, in which self-criticism, the very art of being Maoist, provided the means to monitor and control the masses. In Mao's China, everyone became an informer and enforcer of a single standard of behavior. The instinct to inform and report to "the leaders" remains powerful today in China, and recruiting spies here to work for the glory of the motherland has never been very difficult, many Chinese say.

Our Man in Tirana America's interests, Albania's anguish.

By Jane Perlez 2

Repression and Debate Presidential politics, Iranian style.

By Elaine Sciolino 2

Not Beanbag The confirmation process is messy. Like democracy.

By Adam Clymer 3

Loyalty and the Press Clinton finds little support from journalists.

By David E. Rosenbaum 3

A Short History of Scandal

Supreme Leader, Pigeon in Chief

By MICHAEL WINES

L YING in bed at night, eyes wide open, his busted knee throbbing, having just clicked off Letterman after the umpteenth pasty-white-thigh joke and tossed aside the Washington Post's latest smoldering editorial about his ethics, President Clinton surely must be asking himself: Did I really want to be President this bad?

wound from an old duel, Zachary Taylor and his Mexican War flesh wound, Rutherford B. Hayes and his brace of Civil War scars, and so on. All these pigeons went into office beloved and respected and, innocently or deservedly, got caught in the scandal meat-grinder.

Franklin Pierce Drunkenness. Abraham Lincoln Husband of a Confederate spy. Andrew Johnson In addition to political offenses (he was impeached for defying Congress) known as a drunk.

They threw the book at George Washington, too.

though contemporaries linked the first President to perfidies that make The American Spectator read like Reader's Digest. Mr. Clinton is merely accused of old extramarital dalliances; Washington was widely said to have illegitimately fathered dozens of children, including his own Treasury Secretary (Alexander Hamilton, as a youth, during a sojourn in Barbados, but that wasn't true). Whitewater was just a money-losing subdivision deal to Mr. Clinton; Washington was charged — wrongly, of course — with swindling Shocandoah Valley farmland from Lord Fairfax and then evicting the poor families who farmed it.

Ulysses S. Grant Drunkenness; widespread corruption among his associates. Rutherford B. Hayes Election fraud. James A. Garfield Accepting kickbacks as a Congressman.



The Presidents and the accusations, supported and unsupported.

actical

security forces would obs from reaching the reas. This weekend y didn't. at least one Palestinian actually joined the ing up a tear-gas canis- rowing it back in the f our soldiers. from the scene say calu red on's when the ds were warned that in as, Israel would send o the Arab H1 area near (sah to quell the riots, are Jewish security in therefore, Israel will security control of a larger portion of the city, areas looking down on it neighborhoods. Oslo 2 for a reassessment of security arrangements. ame principle applies ere. Instead of hoping usian compliance with rds will improve, Israel insist on arrangements afequas the security of if Palestinian noncompl- ains at the current level- none. ctical terms this probab a dramatic change in the f the security areas Israel ure. Problematic! Made anything else would be a a worth based on what be, rather than what ver id be. wa may not like it. But it's hat faces the music wha thinking goes sour. so lack the power to press the it's unlikely that in the f of a compelling interest. tch will be willing to do it

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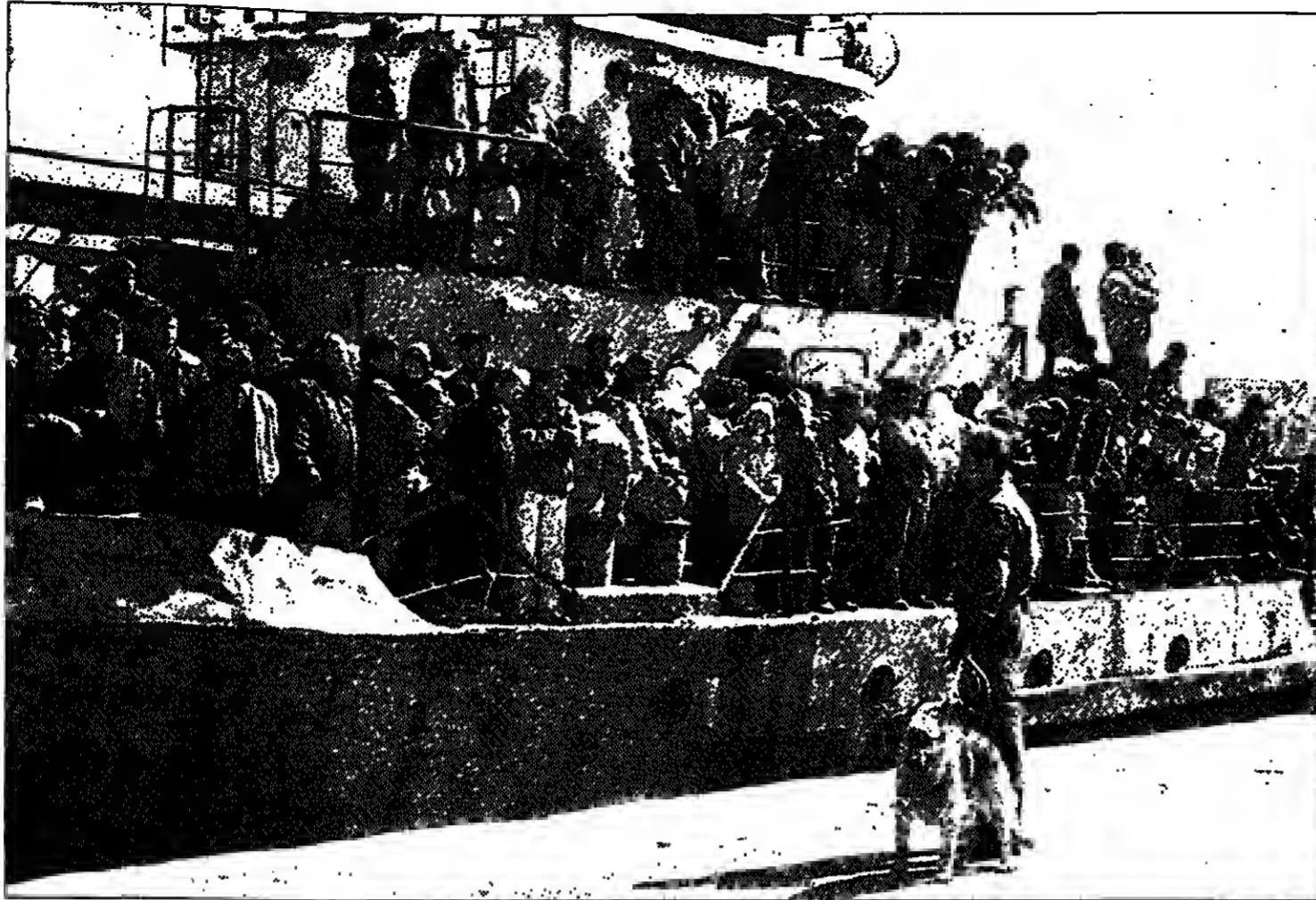
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The World

Albania Is Cast Adrift



As Albania falls apart, refugees are fleeing to Italy, where a policeman guards a boatload of refugees at the harbor in Brindisi.

By JANE PERLEZ

WHEN James A. Baker 3d visited this dilapidated capital as the American Secretary of State six years ago, hundreds of thousands of Albanians thronged the streets, and those who could get close enough kissed his car. While here, Mr. Baker met with the opposition leader Sali Berisha, a tall, ruddy-faced heart surgeon with leonine hair and a tempestuous personality who had been anointed as the man Washington would do business with.

Mr. Berisha went on to win the elections America hoped he would win, and to install a semblance of democracy. Then — more to the point — he went on to provide a quiet base for America's efforts to calm the volcano erupting next door in what had been Yugoslavia.

Now, little more than five years later, Mr. Berisha's rule has been discredited as a sham democracy in the service of greed, and Albania has collapsed in anarchy. But the crisis next door seems in remission, and so the rest of the world has until now maintained its distance. Certainly, nobody is rushing to prop up Mr. Berisha — or his country. Quite the contrary, Mr. Berisha's former backers in America are calling for him to quit, while offering Albania little else.

It seems reminiscent of other crises in other strategic places — Central America,

Afghanistan, Zaire — where America would pick an ally, promote him as a lover of freedom and rely on him to help guard the Free World's far-flung ramparts. When the cold war ended, the truth would emerge about these allies, and their countries would be left more or less alone to pick through the wreckage that these lovers of freedom had wrought.

All this was supposed to have ended with the cold war, but then came Bosnia. And now, Albania.

Stability

Mr. Berisha, the argument in his favor went, was more than an internal reformer for Albania; he offered stability in the Balkans. What his American supporters seem to have missed was that he had been indelibly shaped by the Marxist-Leninist regime of his Communist predecessor, Enver Hoxha; today it can be admitted that, as one American official put it, he turned out to be "a crackpot dictator." In other words, just another Balkan strongman who, in his case, served Western interests during the Bosnian war and can now be counted as expendable.

In the beginning, the match between what Washington wanted and what Mr. Berisha was offering seemed ideal.

Shut off from the world during xenophobic Communism, Albanians had long hungered for all things American: blue jeans, Coca-Cola, women's makeup, Hollywood videos. Mr. Berisha was elected in 1992 after a campaign in which America's then-Ambas-

With Bosnia now quiet, our man in Tirana is expendable.

sador, William Ryerson, appeared on his campaign platforms.

Mr. Berisha espoused free market policies, and once-drag Albania soon began to feel like an exotic bazaar (even though many of the imports were smuggled goods). A country that had only one fax machine in 1991 soon had mobile phones and imported cars. The International Monetary Fund gave Mr. Berisha glowing reports for clamping down on inflation and encouraging privatization, even as it ignored the corruption that was coming to pervade the economy.

Meanwhile, as Yugoslavia cracked wide open, Mr. Berisha, who comes from the rugged northern part of Albania near the border of Kosovo, promised to be useful in containing the war. Kosovo is an Albanian enclave in Serbia where the Albanians are kept in check by a repressive Serbian police force, and even before Bosnia exploded it seemed likely to become a nightmarish flashpoint for ethnic hatreds. So Mr. Berisha repeatedly did Washington's bidding to help calm Kosovo, using his influence there to insure that its Albanians did not challenge the status quo.



A large number of guns have been distributed or looted amid the spread of anarchy in Albania. A rebel in the southern town of Memaliaj uses his assault rifle as a pool cue.



An Albanian rebel test-fires an assault rifle from a small boat in Saranda, in the south.

And as the war in Bosnia intensified, Mr. Berisha proved more than happy to have his country used as a doormat by the Pentagon. American unmanned spy planes were based at an airfield in the northern region of Lezhe for their missions to identify NATO bombing targets. American warships had access to the Albanian waters of the Adriatic Sea that the Soviets had once used to flank Marshal Tito in Yugoslavia.

For all of this, Mr. Berisha's price was low: About \$30 million of nonlethal military equipment like used trucks and uniforms was sent by the Pentagon. Military officers were offered training in the United States. (Several defected.)

Advice

Although Albania was so backward, it seemed such a desirable piece of real estate during the Bosnia war that the United States and Europe treated it like a colony. Influence in the Government was divided up: the United States put advisers in the presidency and the Ministries of Finance and Defense, Italy advised the Privatization Ministry, and Germany helped out at the Ministry of Interior. The European Union poured in about \$800 million in assistance, making Albania the recipient of the highest per-capita aid of any country in Eastern Europe.

While they still felt they needed Mr. Berisha, his Western benefactors ignored his authoritarian habits. Six months after his election, Mr. Berisha fired his attorney general for opposing a law that gave the police

wide discretion in searching homes. Journalists were harassed by the secret police, the main opposition leader was convicted of fraud in a trial that human rights advocates consider suspect, and officials who didn't toe the Berisha line were dismissed from the courts, the army, even the Institute of Fine Arts.

Last May, Mr. Berisha went a step too far and blatantly rigged parliamentary elections, then sent police to beat up protesters. The United States complained publicly, but by that stage it was easy to do. The fighting in Bosnia had been declared over, and the need to have Mr. Berisha on Washington's side had diminished, at least for the moment.

Officials in Washington also warned the Berisha Government that the pyramid schemes in which most Albanians had invested money would collapse, wreaking havoc in the economy. Even so, few in Washington seem to have foreseen just how bad the wreckage would be — how many Albanians, such dreamers of the American dream, would be left even poorer than when they had emerged from Communism. Nor did anyone predict that Mr. Berisha's misrule would ignite the popular insurgencies that have left the country such a thoroughly disorganized armed camp.

"The irony is that Berisha was supported as a factor of stability in the region," said Fred Abrahams, a research associate at Human Rights Watch in New York. "And now we have the greatest threat to stability in the region since the signing of the Dayton peace accords."

Guess Who's Giving the Voters a Choice

By ELAINE SCIOLINO

It is not what one might expect from Iran.

On May 23, all Iranian citizens over the age of 15 — both male and female — are eligible to cast their ballots in the most significant contest for the Presidency in Iran's 18-year-old revolution.

Officially, none of the candidates has been approved and the campaign is still weeks away.

But the front runner, using his power base as speaker of the Parliament, is making promises to improve the economy, keep away from the United States and enforce stricter Islamic law. The leading underdog, wooing women and teen-agers for their votes, is pledging more personal freedoms, more jobs and no more male supremacy. And eight other would-be candidates are struggling to be heard.

This is Presidential politics, Iranian-style: tough, nasty, confusing and full of alliance-building, horse-trading and mud-slinging. And all of it falls within the confines of the Islamic Republic.

Repression and Debate

Is it democracy? Not by Western standards. But it is not the dictatorial system that the State Department has called it either.

Rather, Iran is at the same time a country of brutal and unnerving repression, and one with flashes of surprisingly open political debate. It is a combination designed to keep an elite acceptable to the Islamic Republic in power, and the population in check.

"There is space — but only restricted space — for political competition in Iran," said Shaul Bakhash, a historian who writes extensively on Iran. "The competition is limited to candidates and groups acceptable to the regime, and outsiders are not allowed to seriously participate in elections or

the political process. I call it the politics of the ruling elite."

The reason there is a Presidential election at all is that President Ali Akbar Hashemi Rafsanjani has already served the maximum two four-year terms allowed under Iran's Constitution.

For months now, the leading candidate has been Ali Akbar Nateq-Noori, the speaker of Iran's Parliament and a mid-level clergyman with unimpressive religious credentials. Just a few months ago, he seemed a shoo-in. But at least one other candidate has emerged as a serious contender: Mohamad Khatami, a cleric who served as Minister of Islamic Guidance for a decade until he was forced to resign for allowing too much freedom in the press, publishing and the arts.

Still, it isn't just anyone who can run for president. The Council of Guardians, a body that is dominated by the clerics and supervises elections, must approve all candidates. In last year's parliamentary election, the council disqualified about 40 percent of the 5,000 would-be candidates. In the last Presidential election, in 1995, more than 100 candidates tried to run; only three eventually did. And although Iran's spiritual leader, Ayatollah Ali Khamenei, has declared himself neutral in the coming presidential election, no candidate who did not meet with his approval could run.

Still, as the balloting draws near, what looks like a campaign of genuine issues and candidates is playing out. Officially, political parties are banned in Iran, but clearly identifiable factions with clearly identifiable views are not. Mr. Nateq-Noori has the endorsement of the Society of Combatant Clergy, a political grouping he heads that is dominated by socially conservative clerics and supported by those bazaar merchants who care about free foreign trade but not necessarily about foreign investment. That support brings with it the



Iran will soon elect a new president. The incumbent, Hashemi Rafsanjani (left), shares power with Ayatollah Ali Khamenei, the spiritual leader (center), and the memory of Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini.

power of a well-organized political machine with the resources to get out the vote: the nationwide network of mosques.

There are no reliable opinion polls in Iran, but a three-week tour of the country last December — including interviews with dozens of workers, students, academics, teen-agers and retirees — suggested that there is a widely held view that Mr. Nateq-Noori would only make Iran's economic problems worse and that he by no means enjoys the popular support that Mr. Rafsanjani does.

The Challenger

Enter Mr. Khatami. He has the backing of two strong groups on opposite ends of the political spectrum: the left-leaning Coalition of the firm's Line, which supports state control of the economy and more equal distribution of wealth; and, if some of Iran's newspapers are to be believed, all but one member of the Servants of Construction, a group that opposes state control of the economy, favors more foreign investment and better relations with the West, and is aligned with Mr. Rafsanjani. (Mr. Rafsanjani himself has vowed not to endorse any candidate.) Mr. Khatami is also popular among university students and intellectuals. Teen-agers are important, since about half the population of Iran has been born since the revolution.

Even though the campaign does not officially start for weeks, Mr. Nateq-Noori is crisscrossing the country in an effort to boost his strong lead. He traveled recently from town to town in his native Mazandaran province, visiting hospitals and schools, inaugurating factories, bakeries and even buildings — trailed all along the way by crews from the state television, which extensively aired his pronouncements every night.

The fact that he is acting as if he has already been elected has incensed his political opponents. "Why

is the television showing him every hour on his trip and broadcasting an anthem written especially for him?" one reader asked in a call-in complaint column in the daily *Salav*, which favors Mr. Khatami's candidacy. "Can television still claim it is not taking sides for the presidency?"

Another reader asked: "Please tell me why is it the speaker of the Parliament is the one inaugurating projects and not the President? If the President is busy his deputy should do it." In their speeches, the candidates say little about the cultural onslaught of the West or confronting world arrogance, and much, much more about corruption, inflation, inequality and jobs. Some subjects are too hot for debate — the Arab-Israeli peace process or the death warrant on the author Salman Rushdie, for example. But there have been hints that there is even room for some discussion of Iran's relationship with the United States.

On a campaign stop in Urumieh last month, Mohammed Mohammadi Reyskhani, a former intelligence Minister and another Presidential hopeful, did not even mention "debt to America" on his list of priorities. And Ibrahim Yazdi, an English-speaking former foreign minister who once had a green card and lived in Texas, announced last Sunday that he favors "normal relations with America" and the creation of a "democratic atmosphere" in Iran.

But, then, Mr. Yazdi's group, the Liberation Movement of Iran, has never been allowed to run in any Iranian election. It's just not considered Islamic enough by Iran's theocrats.

"In a true democracy the people give legitimacy to their government," said Stephen Fairbanks, a visiting scholar at the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars who is writing a study of Iran's political system. "But Iran's system claims its legitimacy comes from God."

The Nation

Advice and Contempt

By ADAM CLYMER

"If the nation is to be denied the right to have as public servants in responsible positions men of his proven character, ability and integrity, then indeed it is the American people who are the losers through this sad episode."

"The worst thing I've ever seen in Washington, from the standpoint of misconduct, distortion and deceitfulness."

THOSE quotations could have come from any one of dozens of Washington insiders last week, bemoaning a new low in Senate confirmation procedures as the cause of Anthony Lake's withdrawal as President Clinton's nominee for Director of Central Intelligence.

But the first came from President Dwight D. Eisenhower, lamenting the defeat of Lewis L. Strauss to be Secretary of Commerce in 1952. The second came from Leonard Garment, once a lawyer for President Richard M. Nixon, after the 1987 defeat of Robert Bork's nomination to the Supreme Court.

One central truth, at least, has not changed about the confirmation procedure. The losers think it stinks.

Another lasting truth is that the process is untidy, even messy, like the rest of American politics. And like the rest of American politics, most of the time it works.

Mr. Lake withdrew after Republicans stalled his nomination for weeks in the hope that something would turn up to defeat him. While they were at it, they smeared him and suggested he was under criminal investigation, and they dilly-dallied in blindly irrelevant inquiries — asking, for example, about his view of Alger Hiss.

What did turn up, though, turned out to be quite relevant to the fundamental question of whether he had enough talent for management to handle the mismanaged C.I.A. That worried many Senators all along, but it became graphic enough to count when it was connected to fund-raising scandals and attempts to influence the National Security Council, which Mr. Lake headed.

Without analyzing the rights and wrongs of every confirmation battle — Mr. Strauss's haughty manner offended a Senate even more impressed with itself than it

is today — it is worth remembering that the process by which the Senate gives or denies its advice and consent to a nomination has spared the country a few public servants it probably didn't need.

Had Abe Fortas become Chief Justice, for example, his 1969 resignation after accusations of influence-peddling would have cast a deeper shadow than did his departure while still an Associate Justice. G. Harrold Carswell, rejected as a Supreme Court nominee, was a racist who was later charged with a "lewd and lascivious act" toward a Tallahassee police officer.

Of course, they were Supreme Court nominees, who have always undergone more severe scrutiny than executive branch appointees. After all, they serve for life.

The system does sometimes thwart a deserving nominee. After Mr. Fortas was defeated for baldly political reasons, Democrats got even by rejecting Clement Haynsworth, a respectable conservative nominee, in what John P. Frank, a liberal lawyer who wrote a book about it, called "a sort of legislative murder in response to an executive assassination."

Delay, Always Delay

Mr. Lake's unhappy experience has something else in common with past battles. It took a long time. Opponents always try to delay, in the hope that a wider public will share their principled objections, or that something devastating will be found. Delay is something of a first principle in the Senate, and nominations are prime targets.

The toll on nominees is not a trivial question, even if their complaints sometimes sound like whining. (All Mr. Strauss would say was, "I leave with confidence that history will be just.") Former Senator John C. Danforth, who almost always voted to confirm nominees of either party, said the scrutiny and leaks that confront nominees "are just terrible." He added: "All of a sudden everything that they have done in an honorable life is in jeopardy, and it's wrong."

Mr. Danforth's most painful example was that of his friend Clarence Thomas. Opposed at first because of his very conservative legal philosophy, Mr. Thomas was on the way to confirmation before opponents dug up Anita Hill, who accused him of sexual harassment. Mr. Thomas prevailed, but was deeply wounded.

So was Mr. Bork, although he was attacked far less on personal grounds than on legal philosophy. His partisans said he was wildly caricatured; his opponents might concede a shade of exaggeration but say he was hung by his own legal writings.

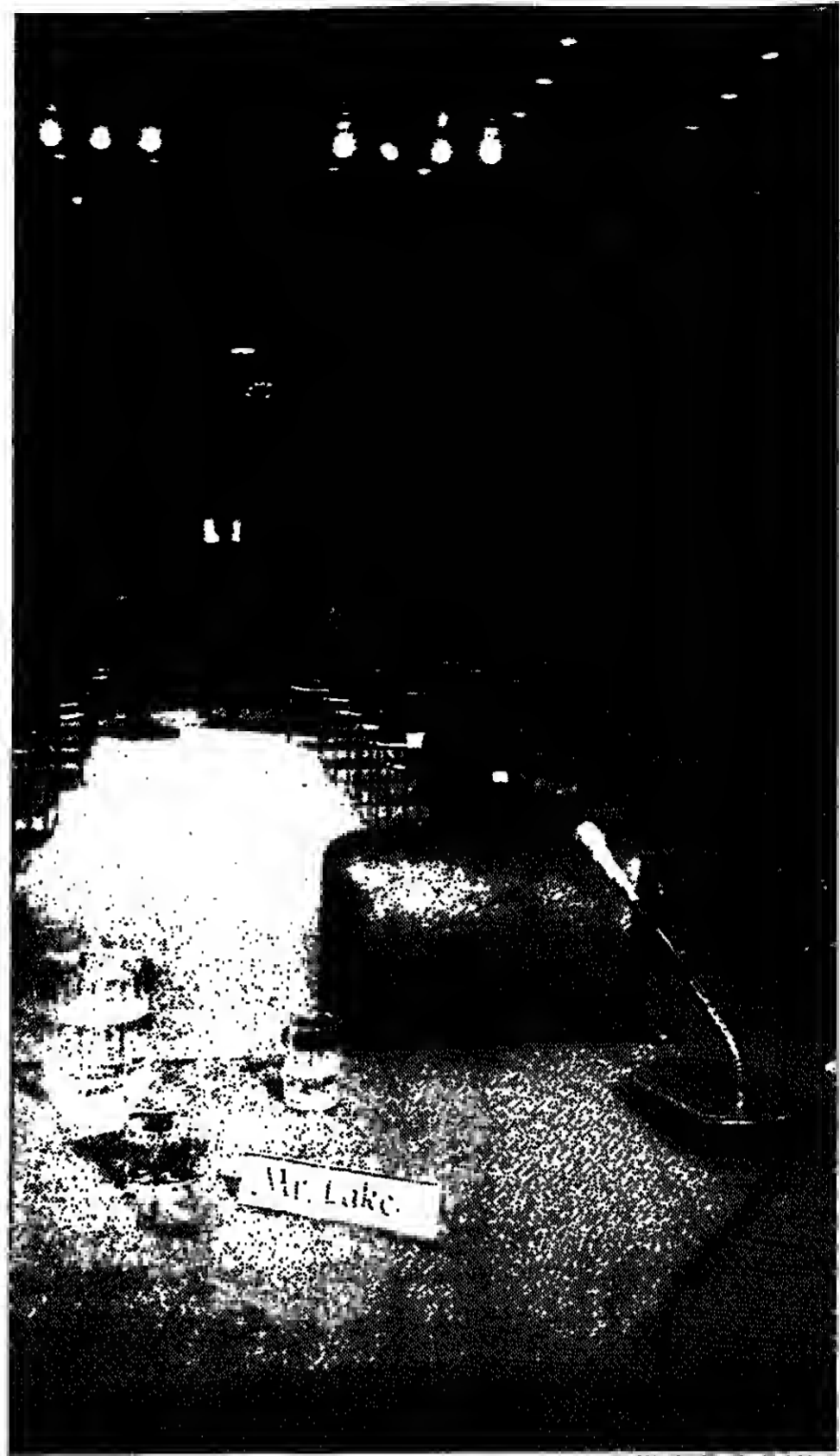
But noting how much has largely stayed the same does not mean that nothing has changed. Like much in American politics today, the nomination process is more given to hyperbole, rudeness and outright lies than it used to be. The tools of attack get harsher. "It's sort of equivalent to an arms race," said Thomas Mann of the Brookings Institution. "This time it was the raw F.B.I. files" on Mr. Lake that Senator Richard Shelby of Alabama demanded to see.

The process is also getting longer. In the Johnson Administration, a typical nominee took four to seven weeks to be confirmed. It was 14 weeks in the first Reagan Administration, and it is longer today. Because those averages include the vast majority who are confirmed quickly, the tough ones take much longer, leaving chunks of the Government adrift and nominees embarrassed.

But the biggest difference is in the frequency with which executive appointments produce a fight. Mr. Lake's withdrawal had its precursor in 1976, when Theodore C. Sorensen gave up the chance to be Jimmy Carter's Director of Central Intelligence. Among traditional Cabinet positions, Mr. Strauss's defeat was not repeated until the 1989 defeat of John Tower's nomination as Secretary of Defense.

But the Clinton Administration has seen a series of fights. Zoë Baird was blocked from becoming Attorney General, and there have been battles over sub-Cabinet positions. Ross Baker, a political scientist at Rutgers University, said the tradition of giving Presidents, especially new Presidents, their choice of appointees has eroded during this Administration. More and more, he said, the Senate is not content with a quick look at a nominee's competence and character. It now eogages regularly in "ideological vetting," worrying about the beliefs of surgeons general and assistant secretaries like Lami Guinier, Joycelyn Elders, Henry Foster and Roberta Achtenberg.

The process is not neat, and it is certainly not getting neater. But even George Washington had a Supreme Court nomination rejected. As Finley Peter Dunne's Mr. Dooley observed, "Politics ain't beanbag."



This time the departed nominee is Anthony Lake, the President's choice for the C.I.A.

The Pigeon in Chief

Continued From Page 1

Chester A. Arthur
Graft and patronage, mostly in earlier political posts.

State who tried to shake down the French. And the Republican Congress (no relation); these were different Republicans) twice investigated Treasury Secretary Hamilton, who was accused of pilfering the till.

Dwight D. Eisenhower
Influence-peddling by chief of staff.

Grover Cleveland
Fathering illegitimate child.

John F. Kennedy
Election fraud.

Woodrow Wilson
Adultery.

Lyndon B. Johnson
Political corruption, fraud, theft and tax evasion by top aide.

Warren G. Harding
Corruption in Cabinet, notably the Teapot Dome scandal.

Nineties America seems to believe that while momentous debates once drove politics, they have given way to smarminess and negativism, an obsession with laundered cash and Gennifer Flowers and tabloid sensationalism. Please tell this to Thomas Jefferson, who hired his own attack journal to discredit Hamilton and other Federalists, was hit up for bush money to keep the relationship quiet, and became the target of a media barrage accusing him of trysts with a comely slave, Sally Hemings, when he refused to pay.

Richard Nixon
In Watergate, myriad illegal abuses of office.

Calvin Coolidge
Miscellaneous corruption, including ties to Teapot Dome.

The Adultery Tradition
Modern politics has it that adultery became a political issue when Gary Hart was caught with Donna Rice in 1988, or when the Clintons bared their marital problems on "60 Minutes." President Jefferson knew better: his political nemesis, Henry (Light Horse Harry) Lee, forced him into a public confession of his attempts to seduce a good friend's wife.

Jimmy Carter
Budget director's involvement in banking fraud; brother's ties to Libya.

F.D.R.
Adultery.

Is the White House being unfairly tarred because a few — all right, a lot of — overzealous people at the Democratic National Committee tried to nail down the election with questionable cash from foreign millionaires? President Hayes might know: it was said then — and assumed now — that Republican kingmakers bought the electoral votes that put him in the White House in 1876, which Ms. Garment says cast a shadow over politics for the rest of the century.

Ronald Reagan
Corruption in Federal agencies and, in Iran-Contra, illegal foreign-policy decisions.

Harry S. Truman
Kickbacks and self-dealing among top aides.

George Bush
Involvement in Iran-Contra and Iraqgate scandals.

Loyalty and the Press

Why Clinton Is Such An Ink-Stained Wretch

By DAVID E. ROSENBAUM

REMEMBER the "giant sucking sound" that Ross Perot kept talking about? The Philadelphia Inquirer editorialized last week: "It turned out to be Bill Clinton's money pump."

"The 1996 Clinton-Gore campaign," the editorial continued, "was pumping funds from everybody and anybody, legal or not, with a reckless abandon that will go down in the history books."

This, mind you, was not from some Republican organ. The Inquirer advocated President Clinton's reelection and normally supports Democratic candidates and Democratic policies. Now, like so many other such papers, the Inquirer has turned against him with a vengeance on the editorial page.

In journalistic terms, Bill Clinton has no friend in court," said Stephen Hess, a senior fellow at the Brookings Institution who specializes in the relationship between the Government and the press.

When Republican politicians get in trouble, the instinct of Republican editorial writers and columnists is usually to circle the wagons.

Editorial pages like those of The Wall Street Journal and The Washington Times have been critical of Speaker Newt Gingrich on some matters, but they defended him without reservation in his ethical tribulations early this year.

As the Gingrich controversy was being debated, The Weekly Standard, the political magazine launched in 1995 by Rupert Murdoch to air his conservative, Republican views, ran an editorial under the headline: "Stand By Your Man."

Conservative editorialists and columnists were also solidly on the side of President Reagan during the Iran-contra tumult a decade ago.

Even during Watergate, the conservative editorial pages of The Chicago Tribune and The Omaha World-Herald remained on the side of Richard M. Nixon until the damaging contents of the White House tapes were finally made public. The Wall Street Journal went even further, defending Mr. Nixon almost until the day he resigned.

Piling On

But no comparable Democratic press exists. When a Democratic politician runs into difficulty as Mr. Clinton has now, or as former Speaker Jim Wright did in 1989, the instinct of normally Democratic editorialists and columnists seems to be to pile on.

Even The Nation, the most doggedly liberal of the national magazines, has criticized Mr. Clinton on the subject of campaign finance.

Mr. Clinton's standing is even worse than it might otherwise be because clean elections and campaign finance reform are staples of liberal doctrine.

Tom Rosenstiel, director of the Project for Excellence in Journalism, sponsored by the Pew Charitable Trust, described the situation this way: "There is more of a team mentality on the conservative side. There is, for instance, a great deal more intellectual collaboration between The Wall Street Journal editorial pages and Republican policy-makers than there is with any liberal editorial page and any Democratic policy-maker. There is no sense of loyalty to party among liberal commentators and editorial pages."

Commentators on both sides agree with that analysis. "We feel very loyal to principles; we do not feel any loyalty to a particular party or politician," said Jane R. Eisner, editorial page editor of The Philadelphia Inquirer.

Howell Raines, the editorial page editor of The Times, said that the healthiest development in journalism since World War II has been journalists' "shedding the mantle of partisanship and beginning to think of themselves as politically independent."

Robert L. Bartley, editor of The Wall Street Journal, took a somewhat different tack. He said he did not think of the matter in terms of party but in terms of conservative versus liberal.

"You didn't see us jumping up and down in defense of Bob Packwood," he said. Senator Packwood, a moderate Republican who supported abortion rights and disavowed supply-side economics, was forced to resign in 1995 over charges of sexual misconduct. What if the same charges had been brought against Mr. Gingrich or Dick Armey, the House Republican leader, or some other staunch conservative? Mr. Bartley was asked.

"Yeah, we would have defended them," he replied. "That's the way it is."

"The drift of American journalism is liberal," Mr. Bartley said. "What we do a lot of is lean against the wind of the general news coverage. That's not a problem for liberal editorial pages. They don't have a wind to lean against."

William Kristol, editor of The Weekly Standard, had another distinction. "Democratic Party leaders," he said, "don't mean as much to liberals as Republican Party leaders have meant to conservatives."

He added: "Reagan and Gingrich weren't just party leaders. They were leaders of the conservative movement. Therefore, the assaults on Reagan and Gingrich were assaults on the conservative movement."

Conservative editorial writers, Mr. Kristol said, often think of themselves as "shaping the agenda for a movement." Their liberal counterparts, he said, have more "the tone of preaching eternal truths to an unenlightened citizenry."

JERUSALEM POST
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Ideas & Trends

Ham and Cheese on Oscar Night

By BERNARD WEINRAUB

REMEMBER the 1988 Academy Awards when the actor Rob Lowe, looking like a deer caught in the headlights, sang "Proud Mary" with a singer dressed as Snow White? (Disney sued.) Or 1972 when Satchel Littlefeather showed up instead of Marlon Brando to read a statement about American Indian rights after the actor won an Oscar for "The Godfather"? Or 1994 when David Letterman, the master of ceremonies, made so many awful jokes about people's names and physical attributes that Tom Hanks could be seen shaking his head in the audience?

Welcome to the 69th Academy Awards, the agonizingly long show (three hours plus) that most of us watch while mumbling about how awful it is. This year's version, which will be broadcast tomorrow night on ABC, promises to be a bit on the snooty side because of the raft of art films nominated, including "The English Patient," "Shine" and "Secrets and Lies." But is there any doubt that many of the stars will wear inelegant and inappropriate outfits or make a dumb comment or two?

The tackiness is why everyone loves it," said Damien Bona, co-author with Mason Wiley of "Inside Oscar" (Ballantine Books, 1986), a detailed and deadpan account of every Oscar ceremony since the first in 1927. "If it were sober and serious, it would be incredibly boring. Part of the fun of the show is really hoping for something you could roll your eyes at."

The billion viewers watching worldwide are entranced with the show, and Hollywood in general, be-

cause movie stars are like royalty, bigger than life, seemingly more beautiful, more glamorous, more wealthy than the rest of us. The Oscar ceremony offers a rare chance to see them up close and, in some ways, for what they are: vain, narcissistic and out of touch.

"We really want the show to confirm our worst fears about Hollywood," said Molly Haskell, the film critic. "We want the show to confirm that they're somehow tacky and vulgar and always saying 'me' 'me' 'me' and out being very serious about politics but doing things like wearing red ribbons. You remember the year when a guy streaked across the stage? Or when Vanessa Redgrave made her speech about the P.L.O.?"

Glamour vs. Tackiness

Terry Press, an executive at Dreamworks, the fledgling studio, said the reason so many watch the show is its unreality. "It's like watching a broadcast from Mars," she said. "It's entirely unreal. You're seeing clothes you can't afford and impossibly beautiful people. And everything you ever thought about Hollywood is verified in living color."

What has made the show even more tacky over the years are numbing, elaborate musical numbers often choreographed by Debbie Allen ("Don't they all look like 'Fame'?" said one studio executive, referring to Ms. Allen's most notable success). Even more embarrassing has been the scripted dialogue between the stars presenting the awards — dialogue meant to be casual but that often is just banal.

"This is, let's face it, celebrating ourselves, which is always a little embarrassing," said a top producer.

"There's simply no way for this to be anything but tacky."

Even the glamour is a bit cheesy. Many of the nominees and presenters are loaned their Calvinis and Armanis; diamonds are provided, for the night.

The shows were probably more fun — and even sillier — in earlier years when they were held at the Ambassador Hotel or Biltmore Hotel in downtown Los Angeles. The ceremony, broadcast over the radio, included a banquet, and the actors and film makers occasionally got drunk (oo, not quite like Frederic March in "A Star Is Born"). Nowadays the awards are given either at the Shrine Auditorium or the Dorothy Chandler Pavilion, and the stars wait until the parties afterward to get drunk.

Mr. Bona said he still misses the shows of the late 1960's and early 1970's, when down-market stars like Joey Heatherton and John Gavin showed up as presenters and when films like "The Alamo" and "Dr. Doolittle" were nominated.

Most Hollywood executives, agents and even stars who don't attend the ceremonies watch the televised show with the same blend of envy and humor as everyone else. Take Michael Black, a respected agent at International Creative Management, who watches the show with friends like Toni Howard, a top agent, and Sue Mengers, the legendary agent of the 1970's and 1980's.

"I love the show," Mr. Black said. "I love the glamour. Even since I was a kid in Long Island, I've watched every minute of it. It's the biggest night of my life. Of course, with my crowd, no one goes unscathed for what they're wearing or saying. If Mahatma Gandhi showed up to get an Oscar in his loincloth, he'd be eviscerated."



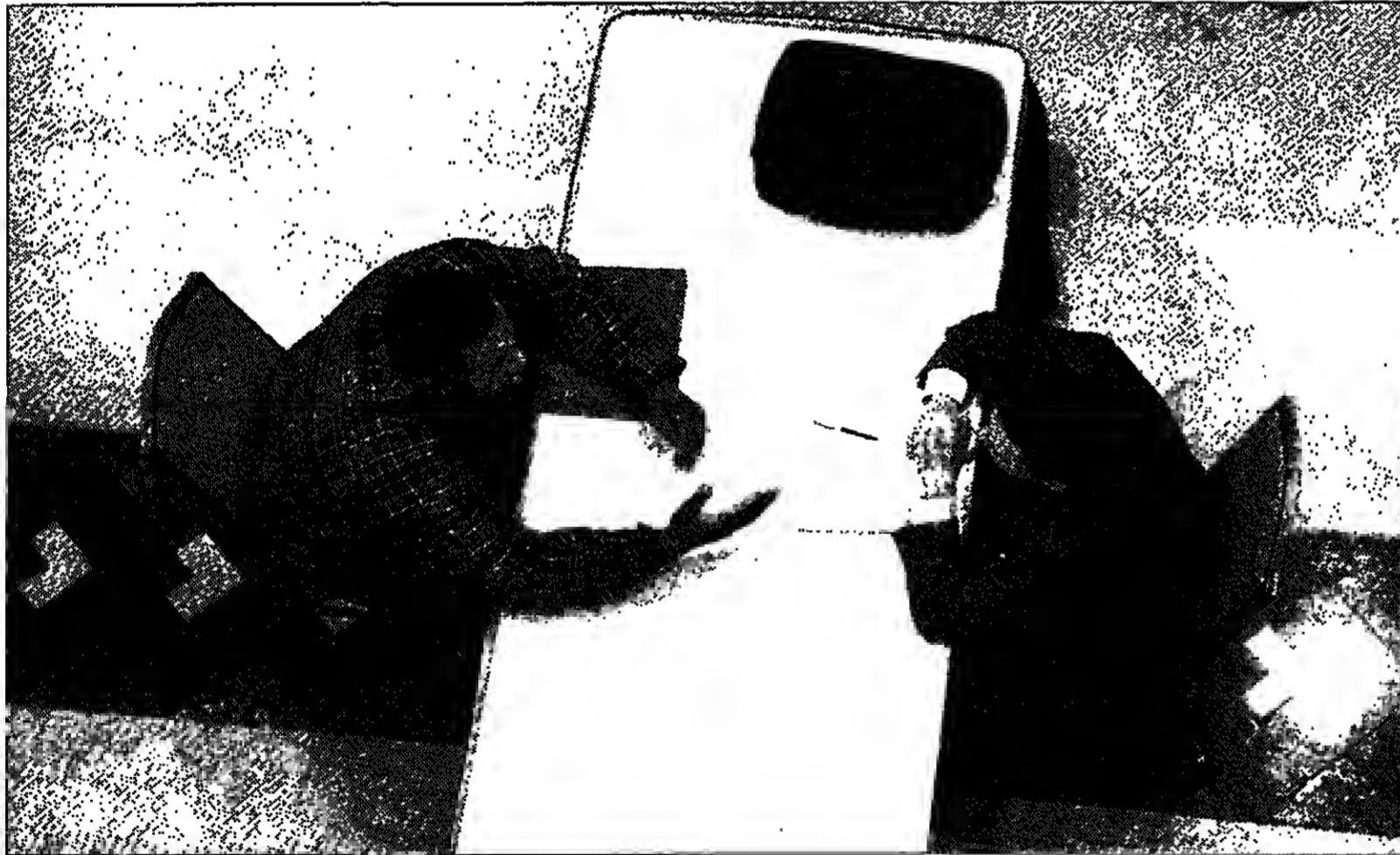
A Hollywood hopeful unfurling her flag.

Job Seekers

Checking In At Hotel Hope

SAY what you will about welfare chiseling and sloth in the big city. New York last week presented striking tableaux of determination and striving — thousands of people of less-than-privileged circumstances willing to wait in line for hours for the slim chance to move one rung up the ladder, to a steady job with benefits. Some of those scenes are shown here. The magnet was the soon-to-reopen Roosevelt Hotel in Manhat-

tan, which had advertised for applicants for 700 jobs as maids, cooks, waiters, desk clerks and the like. In a routine repeated throughout the week, people began lining up before dawn last Tuesday, and by noon the line snaked for blocks through midtown. Elizabeth Gatling, a 55-year-old welfare recipient who waited eight hours to fill out an application; summed up the turnout concisely: "People in this city want to work." RACHEL L. SWARNS



Photographs by ANGEL FRANCO/The New York Times

No Chinese James Bond. Yet.

Continued From Page 1

spies are active on every continent seeking to buy or steal technology to support the country's military and space programs. About half the 900 open investigations into illegal technology transfers on the West Coast involve China, whose spies have set up front companies from Hong Kong to Virginia Beach to facilitate an illegal harvest of Western technology.

"If we are talking about violations of U.S. law, the Chinese are surpassing the Russians," the F.B.I. chief of counterintelligence, Harry Godfrey 3d, told Congress a few years ago. "We have seen cases where they have encouraged people to apply to the C.I.A., the F.B.I., Naval Investigative Service and other Defense agencies," including the nuclear weapons laboratories at Los Alamos and Lawrence Livermore.

During much of the 1980's, as China was pursuing a course of modernization under the direction of Deng Xiaoping, Chinese scientists and engineers were welcomed in the United States. The C.I.A. even cooperated with China's intelligence czars to monitor Soviet missile tests in Central Asia.

Technology Theft

But after a while the F.B.I. and American intelligence officials began suspecting that Chinese visitors were trying to steal much of the technology they admired the most but could not acquire through legal channels. In one case, visiting American physicists noticed that China had built a linear accelerator for high-energy physics research that matched "down to the bolt patterns," as one put it, an accelerator at the Lawrence

Chief focuses of spying: Taiwan, trade and dissent.

Livermore Laboratory in California. There were other charges, never confirmed publicly by American officials, that China had acquired neutron bomb technology by exploiting its access to scientific research installations.

As a result, all Chinese scientists have been banned from visiting American nuclear weapons laboratories since the late 1980's.

The main tasks of China's intelligence service include penetrating all opposition groups based overseas, from the pro-democracy student groups in the United States to the exile headquarters of the Dalai Lama, Tibet's spiritual leader, in India. Another major target is Taiwan's intelligence operatives, who have long sought to disrupt the growing relationship between Washington and Beijing. In fact, in 1979, before Chinese spies had become very active on American soil, Treasury Secretary Michael Blumenthal received intelligence that Taiwanese agents had obtained \$100,000 in cash, denominated in "old bills," to spread among members of Congress sympathetic to Taiwan's cause.

Western intelligence agencies estimate that the Ministry of State Security now has several thousand spies in Hong Kong, placed there over a decade to infiltrate government, busi-

ness, the news media and the jet set of the British colony, which reverts to Chinese rule on July 1. Their mission is to identify every conceivable "threat" to a smooth transition, with threat being defined as democracy advocates, other critics of Beijing and Taiwan's agents of influence.

The intelligence service trains many of its spies at its own university, the Institute of International Relations in Beijing, which opened in 1965 and then closed the next year in the chaos of the Cultural Revolution. It re-opened again in 1978. Its graduates are some of the best and the brightest analysts in the Chinese Government, able to interpret a fast-changing world for Communist Party leaders who, for the most part, have traveled little outside their own country.

Sprinkled among the hundreds of correspondents sent to foreign capitals by the New China News Agency, China's state-run news service, are spies who file dispatches seen only by an exclusive audience of top officials.

The American tribute to China's espionage capability can be found deep within the United States Embassy in Beijing. Down a corridor in a windowless annex, there is a "quiet room," where ambassadors and visiting secretaries of state can retreat in the middle of the night to speak with each other or with officials in Washington.

The room is a suspended Plexiglas-like cube surrounded by fans whose motors create electromagnetic "noise" that bugging equipment cannot penetrate. That's what it takes when American diplomats live in an environment where the secretaries and drivers — even the cooks and maids — must be hired from Chinese personnel agencies controlled by, or reporting to, State Security.

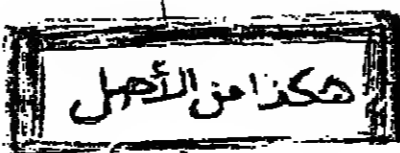
In 1988, a young American communications officer in Beijing who got romantically involved with a Chinese woman was confronted by State Security officers who tried to blackmail him into becoming their spy. He escaped the trap and was bundled out of the country. A few years later, when a Voice of America correspondent confessed to an American Embassy official over tennis that he had a Chinese girlfriend who was a Communist Party member, the correspondent was immediately recalled.

Cover Jobs

Like every other institution in China, China's spy agencies are riddled with corruption and have suffered major defections to the West. In the eastern Chinese city of Wuxi, a large pyramid scheme that bilked millions of dollars from unsuspecting Chinese a few years ago was organized by the local Ministry for State Security organization. In Guangdong, American officials discovered that thugs hired by the spy service were trying to intimidate inspectors investigating one of China's largest factories producing pirated compact discs.

Like the American diplomatic corps, China's Ministry of Foreign Affairs provides "cover" for Chinese spies working as diplomats abroad. Cover is part of the game, which is why the Chinese were furious last week when James R. Lilley, a former United States Ambassador to Beijing and a longtime C.I.A. officer in Asia before that, suggested in a newspaper interview that Chinese spies posing as diplomats in the United States should be booted out "of the country to give them a lesson" about sticking their noses into American politics.

As if that's not part of the game, James



The \$1 Trillion Dogfight

Boeing and Airbus square off.

By ADAM BRYANT

YOU would think they were selling cans of cola to the chief executives of the world's airlines instead of flying machines that can cost more than \$125 million apiece.

One Airbus marketing brochure depicts a Boeing 777 as an aging stretch-limousine painted taxicab yellow and the Airbus A340 as a sleek Mercedes sedan. In another, the Boeing 777, noting that the plane entered service the same year, 1998, that Richard M. Nixon was first elected President.

Such flippant selling materials show how serious the marketing battle has become between the Boeing Company and Airbus Industrie, the world's two superpowers in passenger planes.

In the last year, the skies were essentially cleared of second-tier competitors, as Fokker N.V. landed in bankruptcy and the McDonnell Douglas Corporation accepted a merger proposal from Boeing.

"It will be like most Super Bowls," said Byron K. Callan, an aerospace analyst at Merrill Lynch. "It's going

to be a very, very close game or it's going to be a blowout."

The stakes are huge: an estimated \$1 trillion or more in orders over the next 20 years. Industry forecasts suggest that more than 13,500 planes will be built — eclipsing the size of the fleet now in service — to replace aging fleets and accommodate the growing demand for air travel, particularly in heavily populated developing countries like China. The "sticker price" of a Boeing passenger jet ranges from \$32 million for its smallest plane, the 737, to \$171 million for its newest offering, the 777. Airbus jets range from \$40 million for the A319 to \$128 million for the A340.

With just each other to worry about, Boeing and Airbus might be expected to act like most duopolies, settling back and cruising profitably on autopilot as they divvy up the skies.

But that will probably not happen anytime soon. For one thing, airline orders are typically measured in billions of dollars, so a lot rides on each sale. And those sales contracts are getting bigger. As competitive pressures mount for the airlines, the economies of scale gained from flying just one maker's planes are proving irresistible. In the last four months, American Airlines and Delta have signed long-term exclusive buying deals with Boeing, and US Airways has signed a large, although not exclusive, one with Airbus. If a customer is lost, it might be lost for a very long time.

"It's downright bloody out there," said John J. Leahy, an Airbus senior vice president and the company's chief salesman.

When pressed for their definition of victory in this trillion-dollar dog-

fight, executives from Seattle-based Boeing, which has long dominated the industry, said they wanted to consistently win two-thirds of all new Orders, about their current level. Airbus, a privately held consortium of manufacturers from Britain, France, Germany and Spain, wants to consistently win about half of all orders. That would represent a big jump for Airbus, which is less than half the size of Boeing. But considering how quickly this upstart has grown, its goal seems well within the realm of possibility.

Clearly, only one company will succeed in its goal, and at the expense of the other.

Comparing aircraft order statistics can be a dark science, but based on the companies' announcements of orders, compiled by Edmund S. Greenstein, an industry analyst, Boeing has won 63 percent of the plane orders over the last five years, Airbus has won 27 percent and McDonnell Douglas 10 percent. In the last year alone, however, Boeing won 66 percent of the orders, Airbus received 30 percent and McDonnell Douglas only 4 percent. (True to form, Airbus contends that the Boeing numbers are inflated because it counts less definitive orders, and that Airbus in fact won 44 percent of the orders last year.)

The battle is fraught with risks and uncertainties that could divide the market into larger or smaller slices than either company is projecting.

Airbus, for example, hopes to leapfrog over Boeing in jumbo-jet sales by building a double-decker plane that could hold more than 550 passengers. But if demand falls short of its projections, it may have trouble recouping its investment, which it estimates at \$8 billion. Airbus could also stumble if its member companies start squabbling over the consortium's plan to raise money by going public. Boeing, meanwhile, may face difficulties of its own in digesting its planned acquisition of McDonnell Douglas, a deal that is considered unlikely to be blocked by antitrust regulators in Washington.

Because the stakes are so high, both sides appear to be fighting over every last order with everything they have.

Consider Airbus's failed effort to win over Delta. Among other things, Airbus bought \$95,000 worth of television time in the airline's hometown of Atlanta for commercials about its planes. It was an unusual move, considering that Airbus really needed to sway just one person, Harry Alger, Delta's executive vice president for operations.

"At any corner, at any level of this company, they're there," Mr. Alger said of Airbus before he chose Boeing. Although he and other executives say they base their decisions on cost and technical capabilities of aircraft, such marketing efforts do not go unnoticed. "From a marketing standpoint, Airbus is very, very aggressive," he added.

Sometimes the manufacturers' marketing efforts get a helping hand from international politics.

Many airlines in the Far East, for example, have fleets that are largely from Boeing, a convenient and highly visible way for governments to put a dent in the United States trade deficit with Japan and the rest of the region. And when Saudi Arabia was in the market for new jets in 1995, President Clinton stepped in as part-time salesman and closed a \$1-jet, \$6 billion deal for Boeing and McDonnell Douglas to share.

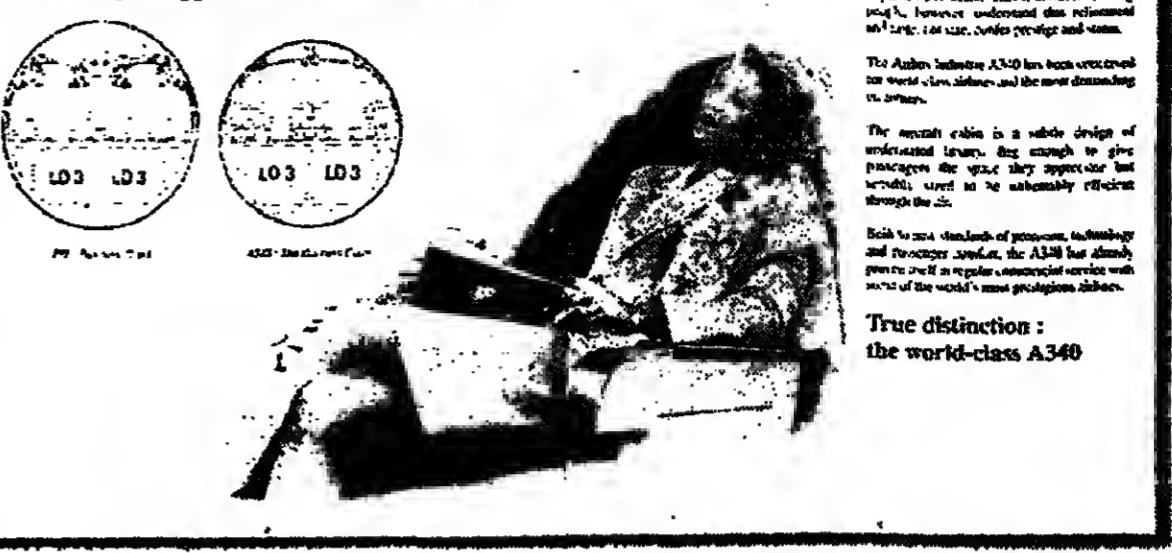
Airbus has a clear edge in many European countries, where airlines like Lufthansa, Air France and Iberia tend to shop locally for new planes — no doubt with encouragement from officials of the four countries in which Airbus's partners reside.

For all that, the political realities can hinder as much as help the home team.

For example, Boeing has been building a relationship with China for 25 years, setting up training centers and developing an air-traffic control system there, and even making the country a subcontractor to build tail sections for its 737's. Boeing has also been an unpaid lobbyist in Washington, stumping for most-favored-nation status for China. Nonetheless, China thanked Boeing last year by placing a \$1.5 billion order with Airbus, sending a signal to the Clinton Administration



Making it bigger doesn't make it better



The Airbus Industrie A340 has been selected as world's best airline, and the most demanding to operate.

The aircraft cabin is a subtle design of unfussy lines. Big enough to give passengers the space they appreciate but not so big as to be unbearably efficient through the air.

True distinction: the world-class A340

As part of its effort to lure customers away from its much larger rival, Airbus has used a brochure that depicts a Boeing 777 as an aging, taxicab-yellow stretch limousine and the Airbus A340 as a sleek Mercedes sedan.

that it could turn to Europe if the United States became too pushy on human rights and trade issues.

Just last week, a possible order by China for a small fleet of 777's also became soured by politics. In that case, China wants Vice President Al Gore to preside over the signing of the deal, a ticklish situation for Mr. Gore in light of China's role in the Administration's campaign finance imbroglio. A decision from Mr. Gore and a final word on the deal were pending as of Friday.

Boeing executives say that they are often treated as a political football.

"We are exposed to being used as something to kick," said Ronald B. Woodard, president of Boeing's commercial airplane group.

Airlines have done their share of kicking the manufacturers, too, but to win better deals — something they could do relatively easily when there were several manufacturers competing for sales. Continental Airlines found last year, for example, that it was able to get a better deal on 737's by telling Boeing it was considering buying MD-85's from McDonnell Douglas.

Over time, many industry experts say, Boeing and Airbus may be able to exert more control over pricing, particularly if they are able to sign up many airlines for long-term exclusive relationships. After all, an airline that flies an all-Boeing or all-Airbus fleet will have little desire to switch — mixing fleet types sharply increases training and other costs — and will therefore have less leverage in future negotiations for new aircraft.

The existence of just two major manufacturers may also smooth out the wide swings in this notoriously cyclical business. Historically, jet makers have ramped up employment and production to build planes when demand was high, only to have to lay off thousands of workers when it slackened. Now, with nowhere else for the airlines to go — barring the entry of a new manufacturer or the revival of Fokker — Boeing and Airbus should be able to manage those fluctuations better.

"The nature of the industry is changing," said Julius Maldutis, an airline analyst at Salomon Brothers.

"Traditional aircraft guts, which were the product of airline-buying frenzies, may be a thing of the past."

For now, though, the two companies are competing more aggressively than ever.

When Airbus wins an order, Boeing excuses its loss by saying that Airbus, as a consortium that has received government support, does not have the same operating constraints as a big publicly owned American company.

"There is no doubt that they will take risks that we, as a practical matter, cannot take," Mr. Woodard said. "We have different sets of business realities forced upon us."

Airbus executives retort that they are not undercutting Boeing, that they are repaying all the government loans they have received and that Boeing has received plenty of indirect government subsidies of its own.

Airbus has also criticized Boeing's penchant for exclusive contracts, saying that such a practice is bad for the airline industry because it elim-

nates new competitive bids for decades.

The two even jab each other over safety issues — long taboo among airlines and airplane manufacturers. Under the auspices of an information bulletin for employees in December, Mr. Woodard pointed out that throughout the jet age, safety has typically increased with each new generation of airplanes. "However, note that the Airbus A320/321 are an exception to this pattern," he wrote, referring to four crashes over the last nine years.

Airbus executives point out that investigators attributed all of those crashes to factors unrelated to the planes' airworthiness. "The A320 family is as safe or safer than anything made by our competitors," said Mr. Leahy, the Airbus senior vice president.

Airbus executives also say that Mr. Woodard's statement in the Boeing newsletter incorrectly suggested that the A321 model had a history of accidents. In fact, the model has never been in an accident.

A spokesman for Airbus, David C. Venz, said that because Airbus aircraft use the most advanced data recorders, the cause of each accident of an Airbus plane has been quickly determined. "There have been no mysteries," Mr. Venz said in a thinly veiled reference to the uncertainty surrounding the cause of two Boeing 737 crashes, and the crash last summer of T.W.A. Flight 800, a Boeing 747.

And the spin goes on. Airbus likes to characterize its products as "money-making machines," compared with Boeing's "commodities." Airbus attributes Boeing's successes to the power of a "myth machine." In a presentation to reporters last year, Adam Brown, Airbus vice president for forecasting and strategic planning, talked about his frustration in sales campaigns with "a competitor who seems increasingly to treat the truth somewhat economically."

But Mr. Woodard of Boeing has registered similar complaints, even taking a shot at Mr. Brown personally. "I've watched him and his nose does grow longer when he talks," Mr. Woodard told reporters at the Farnborough Air Show in England in 1994.

But when the spinning stops, how do these companies really match up?

Each company, of course, has its strengths and its potential weaknesses.

Boeing's 747, which is much bigger than any Airbus model, gives Boeing a wider range of aircraft sizes. And with the combined resources, revenues and future profits from its acquisition of McDonnell Douglas, Boeing will have an enormous budget for research and development. (Last year, Boeing spent \$1.2 billion in this area.) It also benefits from the transfer of technology between the commercial and military parts of its business. However, it is likely to have some difficulty integrating the McDonnell military operation and the Douglas aircraft business — which have never seen themselves as one company as it is — into Boeing.

Airbus has had many technological and marketing achievements. But it may trip as it tries to balance

the varying interests of its members in creating a new, publicly held corporate structure.

Such a restructuring, though, also holds out the possibilities of greater efficiencies. Many functions, like market forecasting, are now done by each of its members, as well as by Airbus staff.

By all accounts, Airbus has taken a less conventional approach to designing and marketing aircraft, and that has paid off in its ability to oust McDonnell Douglas from the industry's No. 2 spot. Boeing made its mark by being the first to build jets, in the 1950's — a move that catapulted it past Douglas Aircraft.

Airbus is also counting on technological innovation to set it apart. For example, it adopted the concept of commonly equipped cockpits as its signature, enabling pilots to switch from one type of plane to another with minimal training. Because this represents a huge savings to airlines, Boeing has followed suit and now builds its 757 and 767 with common cockpits.

Airbus can also take credit for building the first wide-body jet, the A300, to fly with just two engines. It was the first to make a key piece of a production plane — the vertical tail fin — out of composite materials, and the first to use an entirely electronic flight system, rather than mechanical controls, to move key parts like the rudder.

The structure of Airbus, which was established as a risk-sharing partnership 27 years ago, is also unusual: Daimler-Benz of Germany and Aérospatiale of France each hold 37.9 percent, British Aerospace holds 20 percent and Construcciones Aeronauticas, or Casa, of Spain owns 4.2 percent.

The companies in Airbus are also its key subcontractors. Generally, British Aerospace makes the wings, Daimler-Benz builds the fuselages and Casa makes parts of the tail sections, while Aérospatiale produces the cockpits and assembles most of the planes in Toulouse, France, where Airbus is based. A former Aérospatiale executive, Jean Pierson, is the chairman of Airbus.

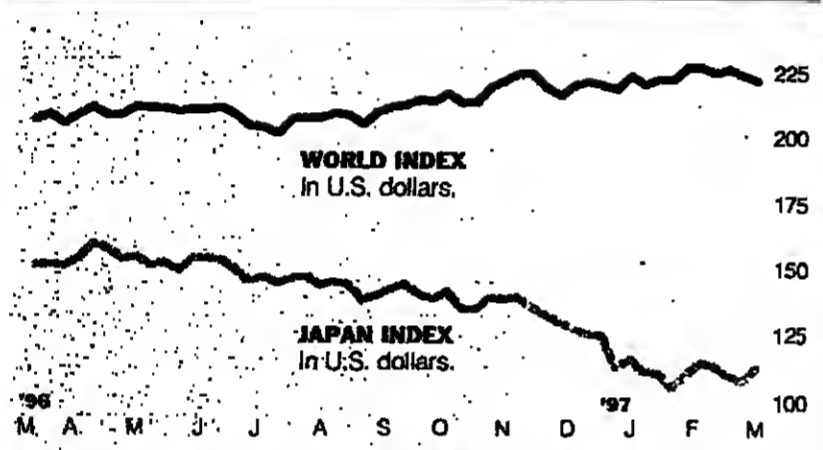
Boeing takes a much more traditional approach to business. It wants to know an airline's needs better than the airline itself does, and then offer a numbingly thorough and tailored sales pitch.

"The Airbus crowd tends to be much more image-driven," said Robert W. Baker, executive vice president for operations at American, who last November committed the airline to buying Boeing jets for the next 20 years, and placed an initial order for 103 jets worth \$8.6 billion. "Boeing is a very methodical corporation, and has perhaps done a little better job of reading customers' desires."

For example, Robert L. Crandall, American's chairman, has long complained that when a reading light burns out on his company's aircraft, a mechanic is needed to replace it. Boeing took care of that problem on its new 777, in which the lights can be changed by flight attendants.

Airbus executives say they also listen closely to customers, and again blame what they call the Boeing myth machine — in this case, for the common perception that Boeing was the first to grow ears.

WORLD STOCK MARKETS



Prepared by Goldman, Sachs & Co. using data derived from the Financial Times/Standard & Poor's Actuaries World Indices, a measure of stock market performance. The FT indices are compiled jointly by The Financial Times Limited, Goldman, Sachs & Co. and Standard & Poor's, in conjunction with the Institute of Actuaries and Faculty of Actuaries.

PERFORMANCE IN U.S. DOLLARS IN LOCAL CURR.

Country	Index	Week % Chg.		YTD % Chg.		Dividend Yield		Index	YTD % Chg.
		Week	Rank	Week	Rank	Yield	Yield		
Australia	217.59	-2.3	16	-1.9	19	4.12	184.13	-0.9	
Austria	185.54	-0.3	6	-2.3	20	1.80	162.33	6.8	
Belgium	230.70	-3.3	26	1.3	15	3.54	197.59	10.8	
Brazil	237.48	-2.9	20	25.2	1	1.21	463.97	27.9	
Britain	273.22	-3.5	27	-3.5	21	3.89	252.56	2.9	
Canada	192.96	-3.2	23	1.8	13	1.91	192.75	2.3	
Denmark	363.24	-2.5	18	3.2	9	1.52	316.97	12.3	
Finland	256.29	-3.3	25	4.3	7	1.69	270.31	13.8	
France	218.51	-1.2	9	2.1	11	2.72	194.79	11.6	
Germany	198.46	-0.9	7	4.5	6	1.55	173.69	14.1	
Hong Kong	455.67	-1.6	13	-10.1	-27	3.41	453.27	-10.0	
Indonesia	223.05	-1.5	12	0.4	17	1.58	337.94	2.2	
Ireland	323.95	-3.2	24	-1.5	18	3.28	290.27	6.0	
Italy	84.87	-1.4	11	1.4	14	2.10	106.61	12.5	
Japan	116.50	4.0	1	-9.7	26	0.87	90.16	-4.8	
Malaysia	620.03	-2.9	21	2.8	10	1.07	591.90	0.9	
Mexico	1,356.84	-1.6	2	11.2	3	1.12	11,752.30	11.9	
Netherlands	342.74	-3.0	22	2.0	12	2.61	296.23	11.6	
New Zealand	84.51	0.1	4	-7.9	24	4.41	64.64	-6.3	
Norway	305.39	-1.8	14	3.3	8	2.21	277.02	8.1	
Philippines	194.82	-1.1	8	-4.3	23	0.68	255.77	-4.2	
Singapore	383.75	-4.1	28	-8.8	25	1.08	255.81	-5.5	
South Africa	360.90	0.0	5	13.3	2	2.40	349.29	7.3	
Spain	210.84	-2.6	19	-4.1	22	2.78	228.33	5.4	
Sweden	425.28	-2.1	15	0.8	16	2.17	479.70	12.5	
Switzerland	251.60	-2.4	17	5.5	5	1.39	226.49	14.0	
Thailand	79.27	0.2	3	-17.3	28	4.04	79.84	-18.2	
United States	318.34	-1.2	10	5.5	4	1.89	318.34	5.5	

COMPOSITE INDICES

Region	Index	Week % Chg.	YTD % Chg.	Dividend Yield	YTD % Chg.	
Europe	240.27	-2.5	0.3	2.77	222.17	8.7
Pacific Basin	135.90	2.4	-8.8	1.39	104.17	4.9
Europe/Pacific	179.37	-0.4	-3.8	2.16	146.71	2.3
World	226.06	-0.9	0.8	2.02	201.76	3.9

Sources: Goldman, Sachs & Co. Exchange rates as of Friday's London close. © 1996 The Financial Times Ltd., Goldman, Sachs & Co. and Standard & Poor's.

CURRENCIES

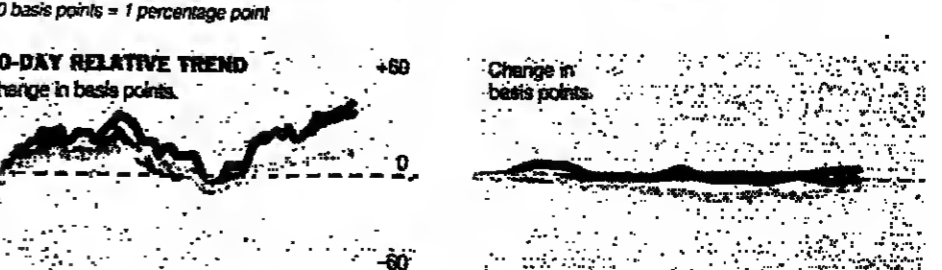
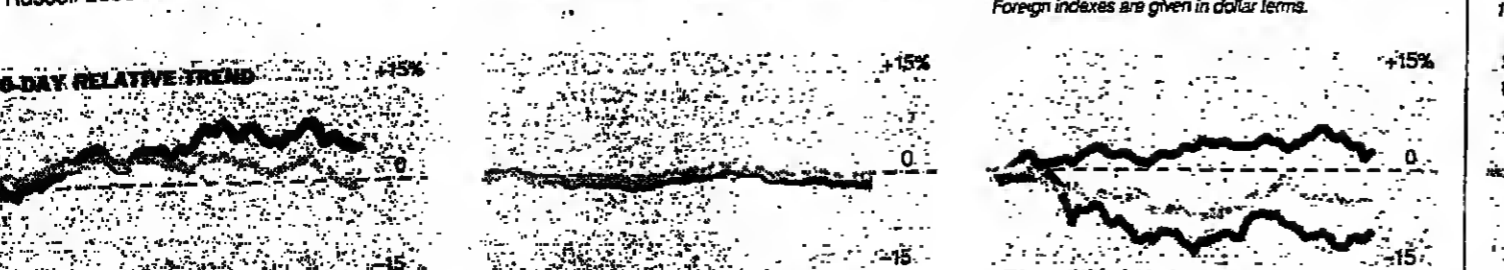
Exchange rate	Friday	Last Friday	Week % Chg.	Year Ago
Japanese yen to the U.S. dollar	122.85	123.38	-0.42	106.74
German marks to the U.S. dollar	1.6661	1.6935	-0.43	1.4750
Canadian dollars to the U.S. dollar	1.3795	1.3628	+1.22	1.3625
U.S. dollars to the British pound	1.6033	1.6010	+0.14	1.5366

Source: Bloomberg Financial Markets; exchange rates as of Friday's New York close.

March 17-21: Expectations of a Fed Rate Increase Cause Stocks and Bonds to Swoon

Sources: Bank Rate Monitor; Bloomberg Financial Markets; The Bond Buyer; Datastream; Goldman, Sachs, IBC's Money Fund Report; Merrill Lynch, Standard & Poor's; Ryan Labs

PRICES	DOMESTIC EQUITIES	DOMESTIC BONDS	AROUND THE WORLD	YIELDS	OTHER INVESTMENTS
Broad market	Down 1.14%	Treasuries	Down 0.13%	Long bonds	6.96%
S. & P. 500 index	784.10	Ryan Labs, Total Return	193.24	30-year Treasuries	Up 2 basis pts.
Blue chips	Down 1.88%	Municipals	Down 0.43%	Notes	6.27%
Dow 30 industrials	6,804.79	Bond Buyer index	115.16	2-year Treasuries	Up 12 basis pts.
Small capitalization	Down 2.58%	Corporates	Down 0.07%	Municipals	5.86%
Russell 2000 index	351.73	Merrill Lynch Master Index	846.14	Bond Buyer index	Up 3 basis pts.
				100 basis points = 1 percentage point	
				Change in basis points	



Source: Bloomberg Financial Markets; exchange rates as of Friday's New York close.

The New York Times

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Sheila Heslin's Warning

If someone had listened to Sheila Heslin, the Clinton Administration might not be in so much legal trouble. For that matter, Anthony Lake might be Director of Central Intelligence. Ms. Heslin was the National Security Council aide who fought so hard to keep a particularly unseemly bit of campaign fund-raising from besmirching the White House. That in the end she failed is perhaps the most convincing evidence to date that the Clinton campaign's frantic hunt for money overwhelmed all sense of ethics and protocol in the White House.

The outline of Ms. Heslin's effort, first reported by The Wall Street Journal, is by now well known. For months in 1995 she rebuffed requests for assistance from Roger Tamraz, an international oilman eager to get American support for an ambitious pipeline deal in Central Asia. Mr. Tamraz, who has had dealings with Iraq and Libya and faces embezzlement charges in Lebanon, also wanted to meet with President Clinton. Ms. Heslin was understandably dubious. Her doubts were reinforced by a C.I.A. report on Mr. Tamraz's overseas activities.

But Mr. Tamraz was not to be denied. He spent lavishly in 1995 and 1996 to ingratiate himself with the Democrats, giving \$177,000 to national and state party organizations. As those donations were accumulating in late 1995, Ms. Heslin says she got an unexpected call from Donald Fowler, the chairman of the Democratic National Committee. He urged her to help Mr. Tamraz and reportedly told her the C.I.A. would be in touch.

Soon a sanitized version of the C.I.A. report was sent to Ms. Heslin. Troubled by the political interference, she reported the case to a supervisor who told Mr. Fowler his efforts were inappropriate. Despite Ms. Heslin's concerns, Mr. Tamraz was invited to a White House Christmas reception in December 1995

and four other White House functions last year. The C.I.A. is now investigating how it was drawn into this campaign scheming, which was a brazen misuse of the agency for political purposes.

With Mr. Fowler now claiming amnesia about much of the affair, it is hard to determine precisely how the party reached into the C.I.A. for assistance. But it is abundantly clear from this case that the Clinton fund-raisers had permission to override the usual safeguards against manipulation of the Government to raise political money.

Mr. Lake was Ms. Heslin's boss when she was trying to keep Mr. Tamraz away from Mr. Clinton and, in turn, from the management of American foreign policy. Had Mr. Lake's office been better organized, he might have learned of Ms. Heslin's efforts and warned Mr. Clinton about the oilman's record. But it seems increasingly clear that Mr. Lake was operating in a White House where policy makers had less clout than fund-raisers who had picked international businesses and foreign entrepreneurs as principal targets.

It was no accident that campaign donors were included on trade missions, allowed to bring questionable foreign visitors to meetings with Mr. Clinton or even abetted in dodging the objections of the National Security Council staff. All these things happened because Mr. Clinton allowed a systemic disrespect for the normal barriers that might have prevented such abuses.

It is fine for Mr. Clinton now to talk about the importance of staying in touch with supporters and not rejecting their counsel simply because they helped finance his campaign. But back when election fever gripped the White House, the less noble reality was that Sheila Heslin was powerless to stop a campaign that was out of control.

Religious Freedom, Constitutionally

A small church in the town of Boerne, Tex., provides the backdrop for one of this term's most significant Supreme Court cases. The church, faced with overcrowding, sought a permit to demolish most of its 74-year-old Mission Revival structure and expand into Boerne's historic district. When the permit was denied, the church sued the town, alleging a violation of its religious freedom under a Federal statute called the Religious Freedom Restoration Act. The city responded by challenging the act's constitutionality, raising the core issue that the Court must now decide.

An impressive array of religious and civil rights groups are urging that the law be upheld. They are rightly concerned about the implications for religious freedom if it is overturned. But the immediate issue is not religious liberty. It is whether the law's attempt to counter a damaging Supreme Court decision violates the constitutional separation of powers. This launches the dispute into a gray area that makes the outcome hard to predict. If the Court strikes down the statute, the justices need to reconsider the flawed ruling that inspired it.

The religious freedom law, approved by an unusually united Congress and enthusiastically signed by President Clinton in 1993, was a response to a Supreme Court decision in 1990 that watered down the First Amendment's protection of "the free exercise" of religion. That decision held that churches have no special exemption from "neutral, generally applicable" laws that happen, as a by-product, to burden religious exercise. In that case,

the Court approved using a state's general ban on peyote to prohibit the drug's use in religious rituals by a Native American church. Other rulings impinging on the free exercise of religion followed.

The Religious Freedom Restoration Act sought to blunt the original decision by setting a very high standard for governments to meet if they are to override claims of religious liberty. Under the act, governments may not enforce laws that "substantially burden" the exercise of religion without demonstrating a "compelling" need to do so, and without using "the least restrictive means."

It is clear that, in the absence of a constitutional amendment, Congress cannot directly overturn a Supreme Court decision. But last January a Federal appeals panel hearing the Texas case upheld the act as a legitimate exercise of Congress's independent authority under the 14th Amendment to enforce constitutional rights by granting broader protection than the Supreme Court. The exact boundary of that authority is an unsettled issue. When the case was argued recently, several justices seemed concerned that the act trespassed on the Court's role as sole interpreter of the Constitution.

Fortunately, if the Court wants to strike down the statute, there are principled ways to do so without jeopardizing past holdings on civil rights or abandoning religious liberty. If the Court rejects the act, it can recognize the underlying concern, broadly shared, that the Court's current approach inadequately protects religious observance from government interference. A wise Court would heed the message, and find a better balance.

Editorial Notebook

Pillage as Protest

When calm returns, Albanians will have to rebuild their country not just politically, but physically. They did not just protest after the collapse of the pyramid schemes that took the vast majority of the country's savings. They razed and looted. They set fire to the library at the main agricultural university, burning 150,000 books. They torched buildings considered historical treasures. They destroyed not only the symbols of a hated Government, but also their own achievements and patrimony.

The explanation lies in Albania's Communist past. For 45 years, totalitarianism and isolation were so complete that many Albanians were not aware that others lived differently. Except for officials, no one came to the country and no Albanians traveled abroad. Albanians did not know that elsewhere people owned cars, forbidden in Albania. They were unaware that abroad a family was not condemned to a prison village for generations because one member criticized the regime. In other Communist countries, people dreamed of freedom. In Albania, many did not know what freedom was.

Totalitarianism continues to imprison Albanians even though it is now just an afterimage, a trick of their own minds. Albania's last great howl, in 1991, also took the form not of protest, but of pillage. When Communism fell, the police state dissolved and Albania plunged into chaos. The looting village of Plug was typical. One night about half of Plug's population of 450 stormed the village storehouse, emerging with fistfuls of spoons, sacks of flour, armfuls of underwear and soap. They stripped the day care center of mattresses. They destroyed the generators and farm machines. When I visited Plug three years later, the health clinic's obstetrical gurney was serving as one family's laundry and garden cart. Villagers could no longer irrigate their farmland, which became an overgrown meadow.

All over the country, the electrical system and

national railway collapsed as people stole wires and switches. Albanians had been told for decades that these items belonged to the people. It was about time the people could take them home.

The looting was an explosion, Albanians' first after decades of humiliation. It was also a sign that they lacked an idea indispensable for civil society, the common good. The Communists pushed the common good endlessly. Work for Mother Albania! Plug responded by taking the village stethoscope home for the kids to play with.

People in Plug told me they looted because they feared that the coming regime would take everything for its own followers. They could not picture a world where flour was not measured out on the basis of politics.

They were not far wrong. I first met Sali Berisha around the time of the 1991 looting. Mr. Berisha had been a Communist in the old regime, not a dissident, as Albania did not grow dissidents. But he now led the opposition, and he talked like a democrat. As President, however, he jailed his adversaries, packed the courts, rigged elections and turned the country's only television news into TV Berisha. To many Albanians, this was normal behavior. They were more angry about corruption, especially the idea that payoffs might have bought Government tolerance of the recent pyramid schemes.

Albania's grotesque Communism discredited the civic trust that is vital to democracy and capitalism. Without it, bureaucrats take bribes, politicians cling to power for fear of losing everything if they leave, businessmen lingo the long-term investment for the quick scam. To the dismay of Albanians, this is their country today. People watch Italian television. They know what kind of society they want. But how do they get there? Still prisoners of their past, Albanians have so far found few ways other than by boat.

TINA ROSENBERG

U.S. Mustn't Meddle in Russia's Politics

To the Editor:
In "Helsinki Hopes" (column, March 16), William Safire gets some facts wrong. For example, it is incorrect to say that President Boris N. Yeltsin of Russia is "\$10 billion short in payments of wages to teachers, police and the military"; only 20 percent of this sum is owed by the Government, the rest by privatized factories.

But more to the point, Mr. Safire makes the remarkable, even fanciful recommendation that President Clinton should impose political conditionality on President Yeltsin by making it plain that "America would respond positively to a Yeltsin coalition

with Yabloko's democratic reformers," led by Grigory Yavlinsky. This suggestion must be roundly rejected. Economic conditionality is hard enough to impose. But the idea that Mr. Clinton can get Mr. Yeltsin and Anatoly Chubais, the First Deputy Prime Minister, to accept a political coalition, especially with Mr. Yavlinsky under the latter's "condition," as Mr. Safire desires, is hard to take seriously.

This is all the more so when Mr. Chubais has just consolidated his position within the Government, with the appointment of key loyalists like the reformist governor Boris Nemtsov, the privatizer Alfred Kokh and the

economics expert Yakov Yurinson to the new Russian Cabinet, weakening any bargaining position that Mr. Yavlinsky may have hoped for earlier. Indeed, Mr. Yavlinsky may well find himself in the role of a "permanent oppositionist," a title bestowed on him by Gen. Aleksandr Lebed.

But then Mr. Chubais's own commitment to reforms need not be doubted. Nor his strategic sense, which was in full display in insuring Mr. Yeltsin's re-election and is to be inferred from Mr. Yeltsin's appointment of him as the economics czar leading the next stage of reforms. Mr. Safire's misgivings, prompted by his admiration for Mr. Yavlinsky, are misplaced.

PADMA DESAI
New York, March 18, 1997
The writer is a professor of Economics at Columbia University.

Saving Farms May Not Benefit Farming

To the Editor:
Re your March 20 news article on farmland preservation efforts: My own research on preservation in New England suggests that farming and farmers may not be the beneficiaries.

The local coalitions of homeowners and conservationists that typically push for farmland protection are interested in providing a range of amenities: open space, scenic views, growth control, maintenance of community character and ecological integrity. The result is higher land prices and property values, especially for sites adjoining scenic open farmland, which inversely increases the demand for upscale development in the countryside.

We are witnessing a transition from a time when improved farmland was considered a mark of human industry to a time when suburban dwellers look out at fields and pastures and see wild nature itself. This cultural shift toward the passive consumption of nature does not bode well for protecting prime farmland for agricultural production.



We may, instead, be creating a pastoral landscape from which farming has been excluded, a virtual garden tended only by weekend gardeners.

ROBERT M. RAKOFF
Amherst, Mass., March 20, 1997
The writer is a professor of politics and environmental studies at Hampshire College.

France Is Concerned For Zairian Refugees

To the Editor:
David Aronson's March 18 Op-Ed article, "Zaire's French Connection," contains inaccurate assertions that I would like to address.

France has called for the establishment of a multinational operation in eastern Zaire for one reason: Hundreds of thousands of refugees are being prevented from receiving aid from humanitarian organizations because of fighting. France declared that it was ready to fulfill its humanitarian duty in response to an appeal by Kofi Annan, the United Nations Secretary General — an appeal that has gone unheeded. It continues to call for the implementation of the United Nations peace plan unanimously approved by the Security Council.

What France supports is Zaire's territorial integrity and stability. It is seeking a peaceful political resolution to the crisis, notably through the organization of internationally monitored elections. France also supports the democratization process that has been under way in Africa for the past several years. Democracy, good government and development were the principal themes of the last French-African summit, held in Burkina Faso last December, in which 45 African countries participated.

Mr. Aronson claims that France has supported Zaire's Government because it "favored French businesses." But take a look at who Zaire's main trading partners really are. France is not among them.

I was particularly surprised by the implicit requirement that, in order to be effective, soldiers belonging to a multinational force must be able to distinguish between Hutus and Tutsis. We have seen the kinds of extreme actions such distinctions lead to.

BERNARD VALÉRO
Press Counselor, French Embassy
Washington, March 20, 1997

Yes, Digital Television Is a Long Way Off

To the Editor:
Your March 17 editorial "Speeding Up Digital TV" is perfectly right in saying it will take far longer than eight years for digital advanced television to replace analogue; 30 years is closer to it. But the reason is not the reluctance of the evil, monopolistic broadcasters, but simply the old chicken-and-egg problem we faced 50 years ago when FM radio was supposed to replace AM.

Broadcasting is not customer entertainment, it is business advertising. Businesses will not sponsor programs for which there are no listeners or viewers, and viewers will certainly not buy a \$1,000 television set when there are no programs to watch.

Further, to expect the public to abandon in eight years perhaps a quarter of a billion televisions, VCR's and camcorders just to enjoy certain engineering niceties is naive.

It is easy enough to provide an advanced television signal. There is plenty of film that can be scanned directly into the new format, and live sports are always available.

The problem is changing all the existing equipment in a television station to handle the signal; putting up a new tower is the least of the difficulty and expense. However, once a station is upgraded, its signal can go to the new transmitter, while a version downloaded to the present standard can go to the old.

Your supposition that auctioning off advanced television channels would have speeded up digital television is probably incorrect. A station broadcasting only digital television signals would almost certainly go bankrupt before it built up enough audience to be self-sustaining. Bankruptcy would delay transfer to others, and the Government would get only a tiny fraction of its promised revenues.

LEE GOELLER
Haddonfield, N.J., March 19, 1997
The writer is telecommunications consultant.

As Rents Go Up

To the Editor:
In your article "As Rents Move Up, Roommates Move In" (Home section, March 20), you provide a chart about what a renter may earn and what he or she can afford. However, there needs to be some fine print. The reality is that most desirable Manhattan apartments are procured only through brokers, who charge up to 15 percent of the first year's rent. So that one-bedroom for \$2,097 in lower Manhattan has a fee of \$3,774.60, thereby raising the first year's rent to \$2,411.55 per month.

If memory serves, the fees when I moved to New York nine years ago were either one month's rent or 10 percent of the first year's rent. It seems that rents aren't the only things spinning out of control in this city.

CHRISTOPHER SWARTOUT
New York, March 20, 1997

Internet Indecency

To the Editor:
Re your March 20 news article on the Supreme Court's debate on decency rules for the Internet:

I agree totally with the computer industry's lawyer. Who is the Government to decide what is decent? It is the parents' responsibility to watch their children, not the Government's. I am a high school student who uses the Internet for projects. What will happen when I have a science report and need the Internet? Will the material I need be banned because some Government official says it is "not decent"? Let's hope not!

KRISTEN FARRÓN
Flushing, Queens, March 20, 1997

A Bagel Feast for Hawaii G.I.'s, Thanks to Temple Shalom-Aloha

To the Editor:
Re "Is a Bagel Still a Bagel in Maui?" about the expansion of regional cuisines in America (Week in Review, March 16): In the mid-1950's I was stationed with the 25th Infantry Division at Schofield Barracks in Hawaii. I attended services at a temple named Shalom-Aloha.

On one holiday the Jewish community in Honolulu gave the recipe for bagels to a local Japanese baker, and the bagels he made were distributed to military personnel attending services. I wound up with the surplus bagels and took them back to my barracks. The next morning I brought the bagels to the mess hall and instructed the cooks to slice them in half, spread butter on them and toast them on the grill. They were a huge success.

On another occasion, I wound up with several large boxes of matzoh. I put one matzoh on everyone's bunk. The next morning after showering and dressing, I noticed they were all gone. Another gastronomic success?

The Times welcomes letters from readers. Letters must include the writer's name, address and telephone number. Those selected may be shortened for space reasons. Fax letters to (212) 556-3622 or send by electronic mail to letters@nytimes.com, or by regular mail to Letters to the Editor, The New York Times, 229 West 43d Street, New York, N.Y. 10036-3958.

That night as I bunked down I found all the matzohs under my sheets. Maybe I forgot the cream cheese?

MARVIN COHEN
Hamden, Conn., March 17, 1997

To the Editor:
"Is a Bagel Still a Bagel in Maui?" (Week in Review, March 16), you place me on the wrong side of the regional loods fence.

Regional foods can be produced with quality and authenticity, if that is the food maker's choice. My brief quote, "Most domestic brie is inedible," was plucked from a broader opinion in which I said that this realm of cheese production existed

by design rather than destiny. My examples of superior French regional milks related to the skills of the artisan cheesemakers, who can and do exist in this country.

Mediocrity can rear its head anywhere. I've eaten overcooked lobster in Maine and bland mozzarella in Little Italy. Quality is an achievement, not a naturally occurring phenomenon.

DAVID GRÖTENSTEIN
New York, March 18, 1997
The writer is a food consultant.

Redesigning Society

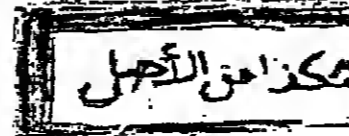
To the Editor:
Frank Rich's March 20 column "20th Century Unlimited" laments the absence of greater public knowledge of the industrial designer Henry Dreyfuss. Jeffrey Metkile's book "Twentieth Century Limited" (1979) discusses Dreyfuss and other pioneers in that field.

But one must be careful not to equate Dreyfuss's products for the masses with grass-roots democracy. He and his peers saw themselves as redesigning American society. And they naively believed that their favored streamlining style would be permanent. One should celebrate Dreyfuss's achievements, but with a bit of restraint.

HOWARD SEGAL
Orton, Me., March 20, 1997
The writer is a professor of the history of technology, U. of Maine.

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THE JERUSALEM POST

Journal
FRANK RICH

Star of the Month Club

Without a single envelope being opened, Oscar's verdict is already in. Major-studio movies were so bad in 1996 — "the worst year in Hollywood history," says the two-time Oscar-winning screenwriter William Goldman in Los Angeles magazine — that the Academy could bring itself to nominate only one such movie ("Jerry Maguire") for Best Picture. The other competitors, from "Fargo" to "Shine," are from smaller, independent companies and some are major-studio rejects. Fox would have made "The English Patient," for instance, if only Kristin Scott Thomas had been jettisoned for Demi Moore. Hollywood's decline into a blockbuster mentality — in which every movie has to cost \$100 million and be built around a "high" (i.e., low) concept, special effects and a star — may have reached its apotheosis last year, but it's old news. What's more unsettling is how Hollywood's gigantism permeates the rest of the culture: Much as the studios would rather make "Waterworld" than "Lone Star," so blockbuster museum shows squeeze out thoughtful smaller art exhibitions; musical spectaculars push drama off Broadway, and over-sold events like "The Three Tenors" drive chancier repertoire out of the classical recording industry. But the newest frontier for Hollywoodization may be the saddest yet — book publishing.

Hollywood's tighter hold on books was inevitable. In the new cultural world created by synergistic media mergers, book publishers and movie studios and, increasingly, those "independent" filmmakers all share the same few corporate parents. As Tom Engelhardt wrote in *The Nation*, publishing houses are now "divisions" and "imprints" lodged in entertainment conglomerates. Little, Brown is a corporate cousin of Warner Brothers as Harper Collins is of Fox and Simon & Schuster is of Paramount. Michael Oviatt, the former agent and deposed Disney president, is chairing this year's benefit for the literary human-rights organization, PEN.

Publishing has never been shackled or showbiz-free. Long before Jackie Collins, there was Jackie Susann; if a sitcom star like Tim Allen can be an "author," now, so, decades ago, was Art Linkletter. But even the most optimistic publishing hands see a rise in their industry's Hollywoodization. Good books that are not written by Dick Morris, Mark Fuhrman or John Grisham had better catch on fast or they'll be yanked from distribution as quickly as well-reviewed movies that open slowly.

Some of those good books, more and more of which have to fight their way into print in the first place, may be doomed before they're even shipped because they get only the leavings of a big house's promotional budget. With the decline of independent bookstores and the rise of superstores like Barnes & Noble that charge for prominent display space, word-of-mouth alone can't put a new novel on the map. "Not even God can make a best seller out of a book that doesn't have a marketing budget," says Anne Larsen of Kirkus Reviews. (Oprah can — but only one book per month.)

Perhaps the weirdest fallout of Hollywoodization on publishing, though, is the growing emphasis on writers with movie-star looks. Jona-

The Hollywoodization of publishing.

than Galassi of Farrar, Straus, points out that a promotional tour can now ride on "how mediagenic the author is." The catalogue for Rob Weisbach Books, a new William Morrow imprint run by the editor who crafted best sellers by Jerry Seinfeld and Paul Reiser, goes so far as to display all its writers like Calvin Klein models.

Literary journalists can get sucked into the hype as well. Though Kathryn Harrison's tell-all memoir about incest, "The Kiss," received dismissive reviews and is on no major best-seller list, it is now spawning a cottage industry of grandiose attacks in magazines like *The New Republic* and *The Weekly Standard* — thus giving a book that might have sunk just the vociferous second wave of notoriety its publisher, Random House, can exploit.

"We all know that if Kathryn Harrison" — who is highly photogenic — "were a dumpy-looking lady with Coke-bottle glasses, none of this would have happened," observed an editor at another house, who then wondered which of the "strange-looking authors throughout history" might be literary stars now. These days, even "Moby Dick" might not be enough to get Melville booked on "Good Morning America." □



Josef Sudek Photo by Barnaby Hall

Hollywood Falls for 'Art'

By John Gregory Dunne

Tomorrow night, before an international television audience, the Academy Awards will be announced, and early on Tuesday morning the post-mortems will begin. The show will be described, as it is every year, as "tacky." The academy membership will be called, as it is every year, "moribund." Critics and cineastes will lament, as they do every year, what is happening "out there," or what the rhetorically challenged persist in calling "the Left Coast."

In fact, the post-mortems will be, as they are every year, wrong. Hollywood remains a kind of willed terra incognita to anyone who does not actually work there.

"People in the East pretend to be interested in how pictures are made," F. Scott Fitzgerald wrote in

emony is that 1997 is the year of the independent production — scrappy, tough-minded little pictures, with no bloated and costly special effects or computer-generated backdrops. "Jerry Maguire" is the only big-budget studio entry, and it, essentially, is just a funny little love story with many four-letter words that don't matter and one six-letter word that does — Cruise.

Many reasons are advanced for the attention the academy paid to "Breaking the Waves," "The English Patient," "Fargo," "Secrets and Lies," "Sling Blade" and "Shine." The most prevalent theory is that academy membership is getting younger and hipper. Even the editorial page of this newspaper wondered if the academy had "been taken over by a new crowd of young sophisticates."

In the past, criticism of the academy's choices was generally directed at what critics felt impelled to call the "geezer" vote, those members, usually over 60, who were thought to stand athwart anything that was new, edgy or original.

Alas, I am a geezer, one who, although eligible since 1971, never was interested enough to join the academy until 1994. (The best demonstration of this lack of interest is that I have never seen "E.T." or "Jurassic Park.")

As a geezer, I am qualified to offer a more mundane explanation for the eclectic choices on this year's ballot. The reason is video. Over the past few years, studios and independents have altered their marketing strategies in an effort to garner the maximum number of nominations for their product. From Thanksgiving on, academy members are assaulted with specially produced videos of any film that might possibly stand a chance, however slim, of a nomination in whatever category. These videos are why I finally joined the academy.

This season, the Fox box contained eight videos, the Disney box four (including "Up Close and Personal," a picture my wife and I wrote), the Universal and Paramount boxes five each; late entries ("Ransom," "Evita," "The Preacher's Wife") arrived separately. The Independents, especially Miramax, were equally profligate, if not more so. In all, I received 73 videos. (Actually since my wife is also in the academy, we received 146; this made our apartment the favorite video outlet for our friends.)

Except for critics, most people, even those in the business, do not see 73 movies in a year. The videos allow members to take a look at pictures they might otherwise have missed in the theaters, and the eventual nominations paralleled this wider, more esoteric selection.

I should confess, however, that I was less struck by the "more provocative, character-driven dramas" financed by the independents than either the critics or the academy membership at large. Some were quite frankly derivative. "Sling Blade" seemed no more than "Rainman Visits Arkansas." "Shine," this year's feel-good movie, was out of the "Rocky" school, "Rocky Tickles the Ivories."

Note to Readers

The Op-Ed page welcomes unsolicited manuscripts. Because of the volume of submissions, however, we regret that we cannot acknowledge an article or return it. If manuscripts are accepted for publication, authors will be notified within two weeks. For further information, call (212) 556-1831.

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WEEKLY REVIEW

Essay

WILLIAM SAFIRE

Headless House

WASHINGTON

When the editorial pages of both *The Washington Post* and *New York Times* praise the House Republican leadership for being marvelously responsible about budgets and taxes — watch out.

It means G.O.P. lawmakers, traumatized by one demagogic Clinton slogan and concerned only with protecting their seats, are selling conservative budget principles down the Potomac River.

Let's not forget, those principles include: shrinking intrusive government. Curbing the explosion of entitlements. Letting workers and investors keep more of their earnings. Ending the Federal borrowing binge that will burden our children.

The paralyzing slogan that has turned our curish champions of change into stammering stooges of stasis is this: "Don't let those Republicans slash your Medicare to pay for tax cuts for the rich."

Speaker Newt Gingrich's "strategy" is to sever the connection Clinton's Dick Morris made between reducing taxes and throwing Grandma out in the cold.

Here's how Newt expected to fool the demagogues. First produce a budget resolution for now until 2002 with enough spending slowdowns and rosy projections to show a surplus. Then sucker the minority leader, Dick Gephardt, into a grand reconciliation. Then pass tax cuts separately to sop up the surplus, leaving a budget in balance and Democrats stupefied.

This Machiavellian maneuver was intended to give cover to House Republicans nibbling their nails about supporting a long-overdue 1 percent correction of the inflated Consumer Price Index. If they hit that most necessary bullet, saving about \$150 billion in excessive payments every year, Democrats would grab the geezer vote with "Don't let those Republicans cut your Social Security to pay for tax cuts for the rich" (shudder).

That's why Gingrich's dwindling supporters whisper "watch the B.L.S. for a surprise." They think they have a deal with Clinton for the Bureau of Labor Statistics — with no pushing from a bipartisan commission — to surprise us all with a two-tenths of 1 percent revision of the C.P.I. That would save \$16 billion each year, starting — well, when they get around to it.

The purpose of all this blue smoke and mirrors is to enable the Speaker to lie low; to let people forget his book deal; to curry favor with liberal edito-

rialists and talking heads, and to hope he can get away with letting contributors pay his \$300,000 ethics fine. In that way, by year's end, if his colleagues no longer expect him to be the Democrats' poster boy in 1998, he might not have to step down.

What kind of way is that for a Republican majority to run the House? Was the G.O.P. returned in power for the first time in living

G.O.P. in fear of a slogan.

memory to enable its Speaker to lick his wounds and look at his polls?

Here we are with a President reaping the whirlwind of his campaign's corruption, with the D.N.C. in disgrace, with heavy hearings and indictments imminent, with the momentum for a balanced budget containing real tax cuts crying out to be seized — and dithering G.O.P. sons are loyally murmuring "He ain't heavy, he's our Speaker."

To look busy while awaiting national amnesia, Mr. Gingrich will soon junket to Communist China (bypassing capitalist Taiwan). At least John Kasich, the Budget chairman, has an excuse for leaving the ramparts — he's in love, getting married this weekend — but after that honeymoon, the honeymoon will be over.

The vacuum of leadership was dramatized last week when 11 sophomores — the heart of the revolutionary class of '94 — stuck their collective thumb in Gingrich's eye by voting down a big budget for Dan Burton's oversight committee.

Ostensible reason for the sophomores' revolt was to remind the G.O.P. caucus that they ran against inflated staffs and committee budgets, but their intent was to wake up the crew at the helm. When the yet-again-chastened Gingrich declared himself "deeply committed" to tax cuts, oversight was reasonably funded.

Congress is wonderfully messy and no majority should march in lock step, but conservative voters expect leaders to show some consistency in principle. Stop playing not to lose. Republican representatives; forget editorial praise and do what you were elected to do. The only thing you have to fear is a fearsome slogan. □

Historical Creations



Demonstrating fine, unusual skill, Israeli artisan Itzik Peleg has created beautiful medallions, by hollowing out Israeli coins no longer in use, and plating them with 24 karat gold. Each medallion in the selection displays the name Israel in Hebrew, preserved from the coin, and a historical inscription or symbol dating from the days of Bar Kochba:

1. The Lion, symbol of the tribe of Judah
2. The Seven Branched Candelabrum, holy artifact used in the days of the Temple
3. David's Harp, representing King David's harp, mentioned in the Bible
4. The Date Palm, one of the Seven Species of Eretz Yisrael
5. An Ancient Ship, representing seamanship and the art of shipbuilding in the time of Solomon

Each coin tells a story of Biblical Israel. An ideal gift for friends and loved ones. Chain included with each medallion.

JP Price: NIS 175 each
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*Please list gift recipients' names and addresses separately, and we'll send them the medallion, with a gift notice in your name.

F I L M

After 25 Years, 'Godfather' is a Family Saga For the Ages

The intimacy of the family members makes their violence more terrifying.

By EDWARD ROTHSTEIN

THERE are some members of the Corleone crime family whose offers we couldn't refuse. Who could deny Clemenza a favor after watching him make spaghetti sauce? Or turn down a request from Tom Hagen after seeing the empathy on his face as an old family friend is led away for his last limo ride?

While watching Frances Ford Coppola's "Godfather," we even feel sympathy for the thuggish Luca Brasi as an ice pick goes through his hand. And there is something charming in the way Clemenza keeps an errand for his wife in mind as he completes a particularly bloody job. "Leave the gun," he calls to his colleague. "Take the cannoli."

But as the 25-year-old film based on the Mario Puzo novel returns to theaters with a digitally remastered soundtrack and freshly minted prints, its juxtaposition of heartfelt loyalty and horrific vengeance, its mix of ethnic charms and coldblooded calculations can also cause chills. We may have learned the first time around what it means to sleep with the fishes and what lies under the Hollywood mogul's silk sheets, but we watch with ambivalent compulsion, covering the eyes while peering through the fingers.

The film's mixture of family values and Family values, its combination of blood relations and relations based on blood, sent a shock through the somnolent movie business when it was first released in 1972. Despite Paramount's early support for Mr. Puzo, the studio got cold feet when it came time to make the movie. Then, Costa-Gavras, Peter Yates and Otto Preminger refused to direct.

And when Mr. Coppola finally agreed (without a single moneymaking hit to his credit), he cast his old friends James Caan and Robert Duvall, a young unknown named Al Pacino and a volatile eccentric (Marlon Brando) as he worked on the screenplay, long-distance, with Mr. Puzo. As Harlan Lebo points out in his new book, "The Godfather Legacy," which traces the making of the movie, Mr. Coppola and Mr. Pacino kept expecting to be dismissed as the filming went on.

Then, of course, it became the highest-grossing film of its time. The film seemed an extension of the era's headlines. As it was being made, one prominent mob leader, Joe Colombo, was shot; as it was shown, another, Joseph Gallo, was gunned down. Then life started imitating art in earnest: according to F.B.I. informants, members of the mob began to mimic the hand-kissing and dialogue of the fictional Corleones.

The Godfather even spawned its own filmic family. Mr. Coppola created a "Godfather Part II" in 1974 and a "Godfather Part III" in 1990. He repackaged the first two films into a "Saga" for television, an expanded "Epic" for home video, and, finally, a chronologically remodeled "Trilogy" for laser disk and video release, each with its own insertions and deletions from original footage. The Italian mobster genre, in which wine and blood tend to flow freely, flourished with films like "Prizzi's Honor," "Goodfellas," "Casino" and most recently, "Donnie Brasco," in which Mr. Pacino inverts the status of his "Godfather" role, playing a mob loser.

The Italian-American Civil Rights League, founded by Joe Colombo, originally worried that "The Godfather" would engage in ethnic slurs. But as it turned out, at the heart of the movie is a forthright assertion of ethnic identity as a source of strength. That is where we find the human side of the mob, its warmth and loyalty, its love of cannolis. Aside from the nature of the family business, the plot could be about an immigrant family trying to preserve its ethnic traditions. The Corleone family values are stalwart, asserting that security is not to be found in the chaos of the New World but in the Sicilian customs of the Old. Blood is



Daughters, Too A gathering of Corleones from "The Godfather"—In a time of divorce and alienation, a loyal family of take-charge men and demoted women.

a tighter bond than any other, the family a haven in a heartless world.

The classic American gangster movie actually grew out of similar ethnic universes. The gangster, as in "Little Caesar" or "The Public Enemy," is typically a second-generation American — at that time, Irish or Italian — who breaks away from Old World family ties. But instead of Americanization he chooses criminalization, creating his own world of allegiances. The traditional movie would then show the error of his ways, the disastrous consequences of rejecting the social compact.

"The Godfather" rejects that pattern. The Don's youngest and brightest son, Michael, returns from World War II in an Army uniform, full of hopes, determined to avoid the family business and its Sicilian origins. With his WASP fiancée, he watches supplicants enter his father's office, vowing to have no part of it. He will rebel into respectability and Americanization.

But the Old World asserts its claims. The Don once objected to Michael's going off to war to risk his life for strangers; only the Family (or family) could merit such sacrifice. Michael finally seems to feel the same way. So do other Family members. "I believe in America" are the first words of the movie, spoken by the heavily-accented Italian undertaker to the Don. "I went to the police like a good American." Still, like Michael, he learns that blood is

thicker than citizenship. In this gangster film, the rebel returns home and Americanization is a failure.

This cynical take on the American dream is closely connected to the period in which the film was made. While "The Godfather" was being filmed, the Vietnam War was going on, protests raged, and countercultural ideas were in full force. America was portrayed as unjust, morally bankrupt. Mr. Coppola's twist was in turning an immigrant family into America's nemesis: the Corleones often take on a heroic cast.

The movie's sequels go even further. Family life may not be all Michael expected, yet the surrounding world is even worse. In "The Godfather, Part II," senators and businessmen are just varieties of American mobsters. In "The Godfather, Part III" even the Vatican is rotten with graft and murder.

Mr. Coppola goes too far, of course, so everything becomes a mob-ridden morass. But the first movie is so powerful because he creates an uneasy balance: without dismissing this family romance, he laces it with horrific burdens. The family promises to protect, defend and preserve its members against all disruptions from outside and at all costs.

In crime as in life, however, it is impossible; generations change; the cost is too high, the pressures too



Al Pacino and Diane Keaton in "The Godfather."



Al Pacino, left, as Lefty in "Donnie Brasco"—A mob hustler who is the opposite of Michael Corleone.

Coppola keeps contradictory feelings swirling about, so the film becomes what its producer, Albert S. Ruddy, initially envisioned: "an ice-blue terrifying movie about people you love."

The terror is the terror of betrayal; the love keeps asserting that there is hope. And in this, "The Godfather" hit upon one of the great themes of American life in this century: the challenge of becoming American. This challenge lies underneath the plots of many gangster films; it is even one of the issues

lying behind the formation of ethnic gangs in immigrant communities. How is the passage to be made from family to society, from ethnic culture to American life, from the bonds of blood to bonds of citizenship? Michael thinks he can do it, but he fails. Mr. Coppola eventually seems to argue that it isn't worth doing. And the movie shows us, again and again, the tragedy implicit in trying and in not trying, the tenuous nature of any social order, the evils that can erupt whether rushing ahead or desperately trying to remain behind.

POP CULTURE

BY BRYANT WHITE / EDITED BY WILL SHORTZ

ACROSS

- 1 Haughty refusal
- 6 Sternward
- 11 Surveyor's chart
- 15 Where scissors are made?
- 18 St. Theresa's birthplace
- 19 Edit, possibly
- 21 "An American in Paris" actress
- 23 — Orchestra (popular 30's band)
- 24 The Beatles' "I'm —"
- 25 Case
- 26 Slangy refusal
- 27 Pop setting for a Mussorgsky work?
- 29 Spiral —
- 32 Products of gamma rays
- 33 Thatching palm
- 34 Horus's father
- 35 Kind of fence
- 38 Comes down pretty hard
- 40 Pop Anthony Burgess novel?
- 43 Prefix with drama
- 44 Louis I, to Charlemagne
- 45 College building
- 46 "— beam up" ("Star Trek" order)
- 48 Big dogs, for short
- 51 Glides
- 57 Pop title role in a 1953 film?
- 62 Epithet of Athena
- 63 Pitchers, in a way
- 64 Trifling
- 65 Disagreeable sorts, in slang
- 66 Actress Russo
- 67 Pop dance team, informally?
- 71 Hero sandwich
- 73 Jule fragments
- 74 Containing the 58th element
- 75 Alaska's first governor
- 77 Dig
- 78 30's crooner
- 82 Pop western of 1960?
- 91 Garden section: Var.
- 92 Catacomb recess
- 93 Weed with purplish flowers: Var.
- 94 Old alms box
- 95 — de pont (bridgehead)
- 96 Phoenician, e.g.
- 97 Pop 50's-60's TV star?
- 105 A season: Abbr.
- 106 Medieval kingdom in western Europe
- 107 Morgan le Fay's brother
- 108 Shepherders of the Southwest

- 110 Commences, as an adventure
- 111 Gaines rival
- 112 — Rogers St. Johns
- 113 Scale notes
- 114 Aid for Santa
- 115 "Oh boy!"
- 116 —tresses (orchid)

DOWN

- 1 Collar
- 2 Dissolve
- 3 Where charges may show up
- 4 Pop Peace Nobel?
- 5 "Norma —"
- 6 Kind of summit
- 7 Hungarian revolutionary Kun
- 8 M.P.'s prize
- 9 Fearless one
- 10 Vibrating effect
- 11 1957 Nabokov novel
- 12 Scourge of serge
- 13 Amphora handle
- 14 "Jour de Fête" star
- 15 Kin of "Sacré bleu!"
- 16 Swallows
- 17 Shallow bay on England's east coast
- 20 Swedish money
- 22 "Cleopatra" extra
- 23 Jimmy Carter alma mater: Abbr.
- 28 Shepherders of the Southwest

- 30 Tavern need: Abbr.
- 31 Solicit
- 35 Obsession, e.g.
- 36 Soph. and others
- 37 Cricket wicket
- 38 Mideast inn
- 39 Math smts.
- 41 1984-88 Olympic figure-skating gold medalist
- 42 "No kidding!"
- 47 Cyst
- 48 Truman's birthplace
- 49 Burlesque activity
- 50 Part of morning calisthenics
- 51 Holdup
- 53 Pop product at a barbershop?
- 54 "It was — joke!"
- 55 Protest in no uncertain terms
- 56 Ed.'s request
- 57 1978 Irving character
- 58 Graphic beginning
- 59 Alphabet quartet
- 60 Tormented
- 61 Draws
- 65 Language authority
- 67 Unclear
- 68 Fastballer known as "The Express"
- 69 Bills
- 70 Waves at, perhaps

- 72 One of a storied threesome
- 76 Goose egg
- 77 Lion's prey
- 79 Open, in a way
- 80 How a siren walks
- 81 He sank with the Scharnhorst
- 82 Park item
- 83 Insulin, e.g.
- 84 Ones providing arms
- 85 Thin, overseas
- 86 Picture, commercially
- 87 Cold pack?
- 88 Dance
- 89 Hero robot of the comics
- 90 Certain intersection
- 96 Rank below marquis
- 99 — prius (trial court)
- 100 Grandson of Adam
- 101 Tiny payment
- 102 Mississippi feeder
- 103 Bergman in "Casablanca"
- 104 Without — of hope
- 108 Old-time Yankee great Chase
- 109 Eur. airline

ANSWER TO PREVIOUS PUZZLE

هكذا من الأكل

Japan ponders dilemma of baby shortage

Faced with ominous forecasts of a fast-aging population, Japan is pondering the delicate dilemma of what to do about its shortage of babies. Policy-makers are being advised to tread lightly with proposals, given the danger of echoing war-time nationalist efforts to boost the birthrate.



Japanese children pray for good health in an ancient religious festival. The country's falling birth rate is a source of concern to the government.

"There should be policies to remove obstacles preventing people from having children when they want to," said Atsuko Muraki, an official at the prime minister's Office for Gender Equality.

"But there is a strong allergy in Japan to promoting a higher birthrate for the sake of the nation because of the wartime policy. What's important is to protect the freedom to choose different options," she said.

Male lawmakers have in the past angered women voters with comments on the matter, which grabbed wide attention some eight years ago when the birthrate first hit a historic low. Prime Minister Ryutaro Hashimoto, for one, irritated feminists when, as a cabinet minister, he blamed better jobs and education for women for the falling birthrate.

"There are a lot of politicians who make unreasonable comments suggesting the problem could be solved if women would just go ahead and have more children," said Yuriko Ashino, deputy executive director of the Family Planning Federation of Japan.

"But as I know from my own experience and other women I know, there are many obstacles, even for those who want to have children. What's needed is to create an environment that makes it easier to have children if one wants to," she said.

"Steps should be taken immediately to stem the falling birthrate," said an editorial in the financial daily *Nihon Keizai Shimbun*. "This is not only because a lower birthrate erodes the foundation of the social-welfare system and depresses economic activity, but also because it is not a sound society that discourages women from having children," the paper said.

Worried about the economic and social fallout from too few babies, Heizo Ono, Welfare Minister Junichiro Koizumi has set up a panel of experts to discuss the matter and seek public feedback. "If the problem gets worse it could have a serious impact on Japanese society and the economy," Koizumi said recently. But making it easier for women

to have more children if they wish will be tough, given a long list of obstacles which are deeply embedded in Japanese society.

High on the list is a growing disenchantment among women with the state of matrimony itself. "Nearly half of all Japanese women in their late 20s are not married, while about 20 percent of those in their early 30s are also single. And in Japan if you don't get married, you don't have children," said Nobuko Manabe, deputy director of the policy planning division of the ministry's secretariat.

In part, that low marriage rate reflects, improving, if still unequal, opportunities for women in the work force and their resulting greater economic independence.

Marriage itself, meanwhile, seems to have got a bad name. "There is little expectation that one's lifestyle will improve after marriage," Manabe said. "Marriage has a bad image."

That may not be surprising, given that most women who marry are saddled with the bulk of the burden of housework and childrearing, even if they keep outside jobs. "In the old days, men

went to work outside and women took care of the home. Now men go to work, while women work outside and take care of the home. So a married woman has a very heavy burden," said the Office of Gender Equality's Muraki - herself a working mother of two.

"By comparison, young women who work and live with their parents have very easy lives," she said.

For those who do marry, economic and social factors including employment practices and the high cost of education and housing can make childbearing a daunting prospect.

A decade-old Equal Employment Opportunity Act, for example, has done little to persuade firms to abandon the practice of pressuring women to quit when they have children.

"It is still rare to see a pregnant woman walking around an office," Muraki said. "The prevailing view at companies is still that it is inconvenient to employ women with families."

And despite a public daycare system that is enviable by US standards, typically long working hours make it tough to work full-time and raise a family.

The high cost of education for those seeking success for their children in a society where a degree from a top-ranked university means a job at elite firms or government agencies also discourages many potential parents.

"Bringing up children in a society where competition to get a good education is so intense is a heavy burden, both financially and psychologically," said the Family Planning Federation's Ashino.

Crowded housing conditions and the high cost of buying a home also discourage many couples from having more than one or two offspring, although many still profess that their "ideal" family includes three children, survey data shows.

Clearing away such obstacles, experts agree, would require a virtual re-engineering of Japanese society; and hence is a policy puzzle that no advisory panel can hardly solve.

"This is a very private issue and not one the state can simply decide on itself," said Manabe. "That's why we want to encourage discussion, make the debate public and get more views from the people." (Reuter)

ANALYSIS

By PINHAS INBAFI

Return to terror

The resumption of terror attacks by Hamas cannot simply be explained by the controversy over Har Homa and further redeployment. This merely serves as an excuse to "justify" terrorism. The real reason is that the whole framework of Oslo is now coming under intense re-examination within Palestinian circles; we have already witnessed Abu Mazen's decision to resign as chief negotiator with Israel.

Both Moslem fundamentalists and secular organizations came to this conclusion last month at the "national dialogue" meeting in Nablus. Elements in the PA claim that, with the demise of the Oslo agreement - which originally provided the PA with legitimacy - there was nothing now to prevent the resumption of terror activity.

The decision to resume attacks came not only as a result of the political deadlock, but as an outcome of the internal difficulties of Hamas.

The Moslem Brothers movement, both in the Palestinian territories and in Jordan, is currently undergoing a crisis on the question of whether to join the respective Jordanian and Palestinian regimes. The older generation of the Moslem Brothers on both sides of the River Jordan is mostly in favor of entering the political arena, while the younger generation is more radical and opposed.

In Jordan, there is an additional factor, while the veteran leadership of Moslem Brothers is tightly connected to the regime, and is Jordanian by origin, the younger generation is mostly Palestinian and has little connection to the Hashemites.

The older generation is grateful to the Hashemites for sheltering them when they were persecuted by the nationalist regimes that flourished throughout the Middle East. For the younger activists, however, this is remote history.

Some Moslem Brothers in Gaza and the West Bank have already joined the PA against the objection of others, mainly Dr. Abd al-Aziz a-Rantisi, who is currently in jail in Israel.

In Jordan, the dispute was manifested during the last days of Kabarti's government when he tried to persuade the Moslem Brothers to join his government. While the "traditional" leadership was eager to join, the move was blocked by the younger generation. A similar situation applies to

logue meeting. In last week's edition, Sheikh Jamal Mansur, Hamas's spokesman at the meeting, threatened all parties in the region, "including the Zionist enemy," of aiming to split Hamas.

Hamas did not go to the national dialogue fully convinced by this. The evidence can be found in the latest edition of *a-Sabeel*, where there are articles in defense of Hamas's participation in the dialogue, alongside articles condemning it.

It is important to understand what Sheikh Mansur meant when he referred to the attempts to create a split inside the movement. Prior to the national dialogue in Nablus one of Hamas's leaders in Gaza, Dr. Mahmud Zahhar, suggested the creation of a politburo in the PA-controlled territories, separate from the one already existing in Damascus. This suggestion was furiously rejected by the members of the Hamas politburo in Amman.

One of the main points they mentioned was that the suggestion was actually an attempt by the PA to create a split inside Hamas between the "inside" leadership, and the "diaspora."

The dispute on whether or not to join Kabarti's former government in Jordan has certain parallels. The radical wing of mostly young Palestinians in Jordan conceives it as an attempt to split the movement down the middle.

Sheikh Mansur confirmed that Hamas not only denies the validity of the Oslo Agreements, but sticks to "resistance" to occupation as a suitable way to meet the needs of the current stage.

The return to terrorism now looks like the proper way for the younger generation inside Hamas to accelerate the change of generations in the Hamas leadership.

A generational clash within Hamas is one reason behind the resumption of terror

the Palestinian areas. The old leadership there does not want to quarrel with the PA, but the young generation is eager to go into battle.

This internal dispute overshadowed the participation of the Hamas delegation at the national dialogue in Nablus. This controversy was reflected in one of the latest editions of *a-Sabeel*, the Moslem Brothers weekly in Amman.

On the one hand, it published formal permission for the Hamas politburo delegation to go to Nablus; on the other, it published a fierce attack on the same dia-

Saudis produce Arab world's first modern encyclopedia

For the first time in the modern era, the Arab world has a large-scale encyclopedia that looks at the world from an Islamic perspective, yielding some definitions at odds with typical Western views.

The *Global Arabic Encyclopedia*, a lavishly printed, 30-volume set financed by a Saudi Arabian prince, was introduced at this year's Cairo International Book Fair.

Its 16,000-plus pages contain more than 20,800 entries and some 18,000 photographs, maps and charts.

For all that, some subjects get short shrift. Israel, for example, is dealt with in less than a page, while lengthy sections describe each Arab nation. And Israel's founding comes off as less heroic than depicted in popular Western books and movies, such as Leon Uri's *Exodus*.

The encyclopedia says Israel is "a state which was set up by the Zionists with support from international powers on the land of the Arab Palestinians on May 14, 1948, and its population are foreigners and aliens to the land of Palestine."

The Saudi who supervised the work, Stanford-educated Ahmed Medhadi al-Shuwaikhat, said the encyclopedia is an attempt to meet the intellectual needs of Arabs, meaning it does not simply echo beliefs "which are alien to the Arab world."

"Human knowledge follows a certain epistemological framework, and our aim was to make the entries suitable and interesting to our Arab readers," he said in an interview. Most entries are similar to those in

any standard encyclopedia, although scientific sections give emphasis to Arab contributions, especially to early astronomy, medicine and mathematics.

Al-Shuwaikhat said the publishers bought rights to the World Book Encyclopedia, and 1,000 experts, translators and editors spent six and a half years adapting and rewriting the work for Arabic publication.

As an example of cutting entries to fit Arab interests, al-Shuwaikhat said the Saudi version has six pages on the United States, not the 100 on the original. He said the Arabic work stresses that American Indians were pushed aside by European colonizers.

By contrast, the encyclopedia refers to the early Moslems who expanded their empire east and west as liberators, not conquerors. It points out that the Islamization of North Africa was accomplished largely by merchants and Islam's mystical Sufis - not by soldiers.

It's surprising the encyclopedia, financed by Prince Sultan bin Abdul-Aziz al-Saud, the Saudi defense minister and a brother of King Fahd, is the first such modern-day Arabic work. The Arabs, after all, were legendary scholars and translators in ancient times.

The "House of Wisdom" was created in Iraq in 830 CE to translate Greek works. Arabic translations were what preserved Greek knowledge and philosophy during Europe's Dark Ages.

In 950, an organization called the Brotherhood of Purity in Basra, Iraq, wrote 51 treatises that amounted to an encyclopedia of that era's know-

edge of theology, philosophy and natural sciences.

The A-to-Z encyclopedia common today came into being - in both French and English - only in the 18th century. Arabic *Alif-to-Yaa* works of the 19th century were not of the scope of the new Saudi set.

Not surprisingly, the Saudi encyclopedia devotes vast space to Islam, its history and cultural impact, which the publishers believe have been ignored or distorted by Western publications.

In one area, the encyclopedia may disappoint many in the Moslem world.

Saudi Arabia's rulers are Sunni Moslems, the largest Islamic sect, and Sunni beliefs and teachings are sprinkled throughout the many entries on Islam. But Shi'ites, the second largest sect, are given only half a page.

The encyclopedia also ignores certain groups in defining terrorism. As examples, it mentions the Italian Red Brigades, the Irish Republican Army and Jewish groups like Etzel and Lehi involved in Israel's independence struggle.

Nothing is said, however, about Islamic radical groups, even those that twice in the past two years bombed American targets in the Saudi kingdom.

The encyclopedia, bound in Islamic green leather with gold titles, sells for 6,000 Saudi riyals (\$1,600). A computerized English edition is planned on CD-ROM.

Al-Shuwaikhat refused to say how much it cost to produce the encyclopedia, saying only that it was a "few million dollars." (AP)

EARTHLY CONCERNS

The high price of global illiteracy

By DVORA BEN SHAIL

One out of every four adults in the world is unable to read or write in any language. More than half of these illiterate people are women.

But these figures may be inaccurate. Countries usually supply their own statistics on illiteracy and in many cases the figures are unintentionally low. One case in point is the United States, which reports 78 percent adult literacy, but a survey of 200,000 US citizens in 35 cities and towns, by the Betty Ford Foundation, found that 42 percent of adults between the ages of 15 to 30 could not read well enough to follow a simple set

of directions, read a two-inch newspaper article and explain what it said, or read a simple business letter.

The reason for this discrepancy is that wherever there is compulsory education it is assumed that all children go to school. It is further assumed that any child who goes to school for at least five years is literate. Consequently, governments arrive at the literacy rate by deducting a small percentage for children with severe mental handicaps, and reporting the rest as literate. But this is not always the case.

Illiteracy in women carries an especially high price tag. Studies done by the UN have

shown that literate women are 85 percent more likely to be successful in contraceptive use. It has also been noted that female education is one of the greatest incentives to lowering birth rates, lowering infant mortality (which spurs many women to conceive more frequently) and to pulling families above the poverty line.

But there is another area in which literacy, and especially female literacy, is important.

In Asia, Africa and South America, the three places that have the highest illiteracy rates, women work in agriculture. In these underdeveloped areas, the use of harmful pesticides is drastically increasing and insecticides

and herbicides banned in more developed countries are dumped on the market, sold without any restriction and used by people who cannot even read the labels, let alone the cautionary information.

This factor alone accounts for the very high number of poisonings that happen every year in developing countries. The figure is especially high among women and children and in some places ranks as a cause of death that exceeds all other forms of accidental death.

Because of these considerations, UNESCO has classified illiteracy as one of the world's most pressing problems, from both a social and environmental standpoint.

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BUSINESS

in brief

Rafael to become state company

Finance Minister Dan Meridor and Defense Minister Yitzhak Mordechai agreed yesterday to continue with the process of granting Rafael (the Armaments Development Authority) the status of a state company.

Global Wireless to buy Nexus's warrants

Global Wireless Communications of New York has announced it will purchase \$4.5 million of Nexus Telecommunications Systems Ltd.'s warrants as part of a plan to form a strategic alliance. Based in Givatayim, Nexus develops two-way, wireless communications networks, including a two-way pager that allows users to receive and send messages.

Bezeq: Bid to buy NetVision not rejected

Bezeq spokeswoman Ella Bar-Or denied media reports that the Communications Ministry is refusing to accept the company's bid to purchase 50 percent of the Internet service provider NetVision.

Over 10% of available housing unoccupied

According to a 1995 census, more than 10% of available housing was unoccupied during that year, the Central Bureau of Statistics recently announced. The census also revealed that more than 100,000 apartments are used for purposes other than housing.

Cellcom subscribers now listed with 144

Phone numbers of hundreds of thousands of Cellcom cellular phone subscribers are now available by calling Bezeq's 144 number. The registry took months of compilation work, as Cellcom had to ask every subscriber for permission to make his or her number public.

Retail and chainstore sales rise 0.7%

Retail and chainstore sales increased 0.7% in February, in keeping with the pace set in January, the Central Bureau of Statistics recently reported. The CBS estimates that sales for the year will rise 8%-9%.

Central bank leaves interest rates unchanged

By DAVID HARRIS

There will be no change in the Bank of Israel's key lending rate next month, governor Jacob Frenkel announced yesterday. This leaves the key rate at 13.9 percent, with the aggregate cut since August holding at 3.1%.

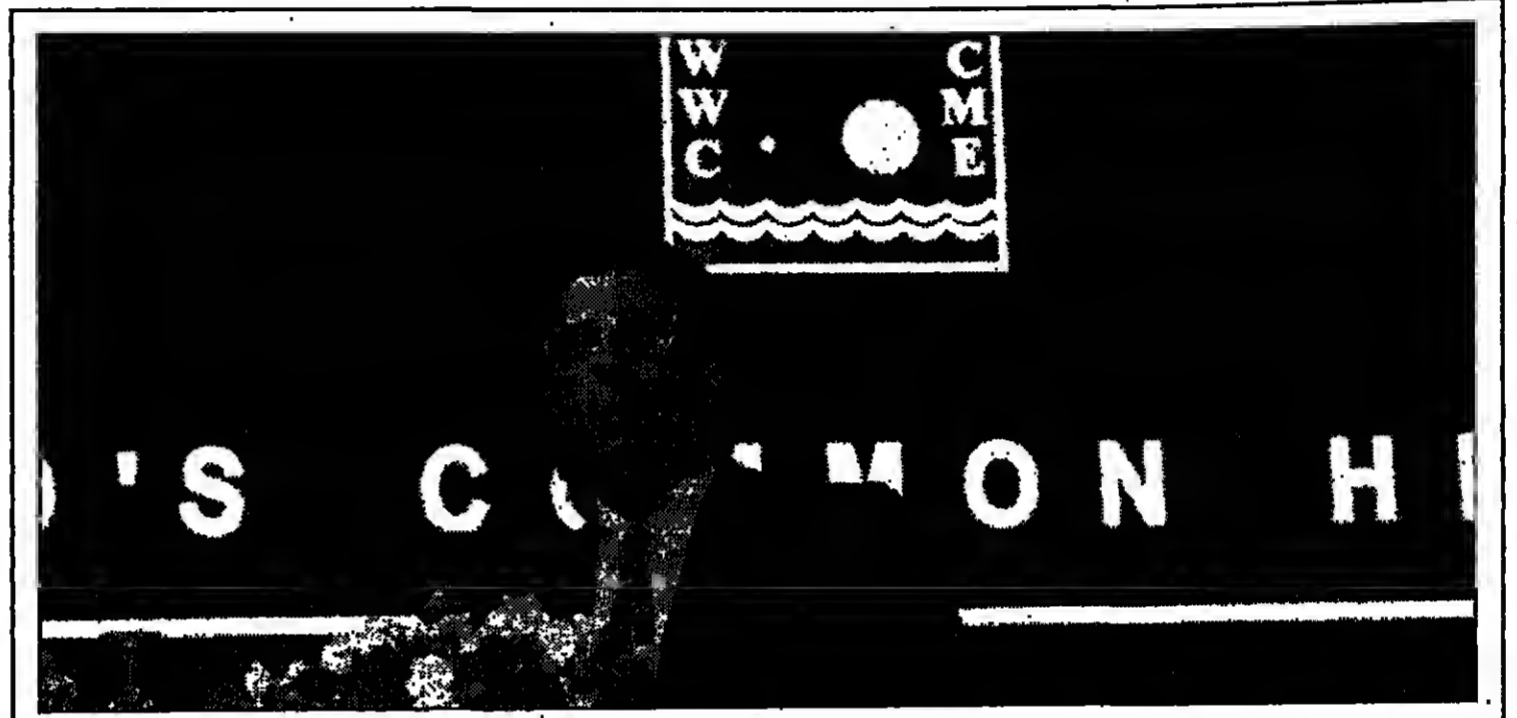
sum of currency, demand deposits and travelers checks, significantly reflects the credit given by the banks to the business sector.

A decision on whether an additional 1997 budget cut will be made (on top of the NIS 7.2 billion cut agreed on December 31 last year), will only be taken after Finance Minister Dan Meridor has considered the budgetary data for the first quarter.

Eliyahu buys 36% stake in Ayalon Ins.

By GALIT LIPKIS BECK

Shlomo Eliyahu Holdings, controlled by businessman Shlomo Eliyahu, has purchased 36 percent of Ayalon Insurance for \$11 million.



World Water Forum in Morocco. UNESCO director-general Federico Mayor opens a session of the World Water Forum in Marrakesh this weekend. (Reuters)

Teva Medical, Israel Int'l Fund, Taoz in joint venture

By JENNIFER FRIEDLIN

Teva Medical, Israel International Fund and Taoz announced yesterday to invest \$45 million in a joint venture to establish community medical centers internationally.

lems and require dialysis treatments two or three times a week.

Bank Discount share offer slated for next month

By GALIT LIPKIS BECK

Finance Minister Dan Meridor yesterday asked the Finance Committee to reapprove the sale of 17 percent of Bank Discount's shares to the public based on the annual report for 1996.

attempt to complete the sale in the middle of the month.

der for the bank's capital notes.

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ISRAEL MONEY MARKETS

Patah (foreign currency deposit rates) (11.9.96)

Currency (deposit term)	3 MONTHS	6 MONTHS	12 MONTHS
U.S. dollar (\$250,000)	4.750	5.000	5.375
Pound sterling (£100,000)	5.875	6.250	6.375
German mark (DM 200,000)	1.825	1.825	2.125
Swiss franc (SF 200,000)	0.825	0.750	1.000

(Rates vary higher or lower than indicated according to deposit)

Shekel Foreign Exchange Rates* (21.3.97)

CURRENCY BASKET	TRANSFERS		BANK NOTES		Rep. Rates**
	Buy	Sell	Buy	Sell	
U.S. dollar	3.6188	3.6772	—	—	3.6571
German mark	3.3971	3.3910	3.27	3.44	3.3720
Pound sterling	5.3180	5.418	1.93	2.04	1.9939
French franc	0.5848	0.5843	0.57	0.61	0.5906
Japanese yen (100)	2.7038	2.7488	1.72	1.81	1.7712
Dutch florin	1.7804	1.7817	1.72	1.81	1.7712
Swiss franc	2.2802	2.2772	2.26	2.36	2.3128
Swedish krona	0.4385	0.4436	0.42	0.45	0.4408
Norwegian krone	0.4856	0.5038	0.48	0.52	0.5004
Denish krona	0.5174	0.5269	0.50	0.54	0.5229
Finnish mark	0.6899	0.6706	0.64	0.68	0.6655
Canadian dollar	2.4215	2.4806	2.37	2.50	2.4478
Australian dollar	2.6193	2.6691	2.57	2.70	2.6436
S. African rand	0.7838	0.7860	0.88	0.99	0.9317
Belgian franc (10)	0.9568	0.9714	0.98	0.99	0.9993
Austrian schilling (10)	2.3042	2.3485	1.98	2.04	1.9854
Italian lire (1000)	1.9728	2.0048	1.84	1.94	1.9252
Jordanian dinar	4.6400	4.9600	—	—	—
Egyptian pound	0.9500	1.0300	0.95	1.03	1.0716
ECU	3.6281	3.8899	—	—	—
Irish punt	5.8037	6.2195	—	—	—
Spanish peseta (100)	2.3258	2.3634	5.13	5.38	5.2775
			2.28	2.40	2.3507

*These rates vary according to bank. **Bank of Israel

SOURCE: BANK LEUMI

Key Representative Rates

US Dollar	NIS 3.5720
Sterling	NIS 5.3750
Mark	NIS 1.9938

COMMODITIES ROUNDUP

Soybeans fall sharply

By CLIFF EDWARDS

CHICAGO (AP) — Soybean futures prices fell sharply Friday on the Chicago Board of Trade, after an industry report indicated prices at their highest in more than eight years — have forced domestic processors to curtail usage. Wheat futures also retreated.

On other commodity markets, pork futures soared a second day, while coffee futures fell sharply.

The National Oilseed Processors Association reported a sharp decline for the first time in several months in the amount of soybeans crushed for making soybean meal and oil. The association reported the crush fell to 28.1 million bushels in the week ended March 19 from 30.1 million bushels a week earlier.

That coincides with announcements that Archer Daniels Midland Co. and Cargill have curtailed processing operations because it has become too expensive to make soybean oil.

The news erased the gains made a day earlier, after the Agriculture Department reported continued strong international demand for American soybeans and related products, despite stepped-up Brazilian harvesting and exports.

"We know at some point in time that we shift export demand from the US to South America as they come on stream with their harvest," said analyst Gerald Zuscovitz at E.D. and F. Man International Inc. "People have been anticipating that, transition for three to four weeks now and it hasn't come. But this crush number could be the first sign the transition is starting to take hold."

Soybeans also retreated on reports Brazilian soybeans were destined for the US, which could relieve any tightness that may occur in coming months. The USDA is projecting American reserves will fall to a 20-year low of 140 million bushels by September 1.

Wheat futures retreated amid forecasts calling for moderating weather in key growing regions that should lessen chances of flood damage to the winter crop and improve prospects for timely spring plantings.

Soybeans for May delivery fell 9 1/2 cents to \$8.42 1/2 a bushel; July wheat fell seven cents to \$3.82 1/2 a bushel.

Pork futures prices rose sharply a second day on the Chicago Mercantile Exchange in reaction to Taiwan's voluntary ban on pork exports following the discovery of foot-and-mouth disease on 20 farms.

The disease causes blisters on the animal's tongue and feet and leads to weight loss. It cannot be transmitted to humans.

Still, Japan on Friday banned imports of Taiwanese pork, which increased speculation US pork producers will be asked to fill the gap.

Taiwan accounted for 41% of Japanese pork imports last year, with American imports accounting for 22%. The ban could last for five years, a Taiwanese agriculture official said, significantly boosting US export prospects.

Coffee futures fell sharply in nearby contract months on the Coffee, Sugar and Cocoa Exchange in New York after Brazil announced it would sell some of its reserves to relieve tight supplies.

Brazil on April 2 will auction 326,188 60 kilograms bags of arabica coffee from government stocks, National Coffee Department spokesman Roberto de Abreu said.

The amount is nearly 75,000 bags above a recent auction, which saw all of the lower-quality stocks purchased.

The government said the sale is ostensibly to help the local industry during a period of high prices and dwindling stocks, but analysts said some of the coffee could make its way to the US. That could lead to further increases in American stockpiles, which have grown measurably in the past two weeks.

Columbia also announced it is cutting the price of coffee paid to local producers, another sign the supply tightness is easing.

Due to Purim, there was not trading on the Tel Aviv Stock Exchange yesterday.

German economics minister raps Saudi investment rules

By CAROLINE DREES

RIYADH (Reuters) — German Economics Minister Guenter Rexrodt over the weekend called on Saudi Arabia — Germany's main trading partner in the Arab world — to improve investment conditions in the kingdom to boost bilateral trade.

"Compared to Germany's other major trading partners, German investment in Saudi Arabia is still modest," he said at the opening speech of the 12th meeting of the German-Saudi joint commission on economic and technical cooperation. "The legal and administrative structure in your country are not always clear enough for foreign investors. And the need to find a sponsor in Saudi Arabia discourages some investors," he said.

The two-day meeting was last coovened to Berlin in 1994.

"I believe that the global market for investment will make it more important for Saudi Arabia to make the best possible conditions for investments," Rexrodt said.

Oil giant Saudi Arabia said earlier this month it was taking measures to encourage foreign investment.

This included steps to provide protection for foreign investment and ease bureaucratic obstacles in the licensing of foreign projects.

It is also reviewing its foreign capital law to introduce more incentives to international investors in a country where most foreign capital is invested in joint ventures with Saudi firms.

Foreign capital can be invested without Saudi participation, but then it does not qualify for a

range of incentives, including tax holiday.

According to German embassy figures, total bilateral trade between Germany and Saudi Arabia was around DM 4.8 billion (\$2.8 billion) in 1995, down from DM 5.7b. in 1994. In the first nine months of 1996 it stood at DM 3.7b.

Rexrodt also said he welcomed and supported Saudi Arabia's bid to join the World Trade Organization (WTO).

"I hope that Saudi Arabia can soon fulfill the conditions for membership and become a member of WTO," he said.

Rexrodt, who will travel to the United Arab Emirates from Saudi Arabia, also said the German government wanted to see more liberalization of economic ties between the European Union and the Middle East.

"A free trade zone between the European Union and the countries of the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) would be an important step," he said.

The GCC is a political and economic alliance formed by regional heavyweight Saudi Arabia, the United Arab Emirates, Qatar, Bahrain, Oman and Kuwait.

The failure of Gulf Arab states to unify their tariffs has been a key hurdle blocking a free trade deal with the EU, which could open lucrative European markets to cheap petrochemicals and other goods from the Gulf.

GCC and European foreign ministers agreed in April to set a deadline of no more than two years to complete a free trade agreement between the two trading partners — an issue under discussions for more than 10 years.

Hashimoto: No to Russia as full G-7 member

TOKYO (AP) — Japanese Prime Minister Ryutaro Hashimoto does not believe Russia is ready to join the leaders of the world's leading industrial democracies in discussing development, international finance and trade, Kyodo News reported yesterday.

Speaking with reporters at his official residence yesterday, Hashimoto expressed caution about giving Russia full membership in the Group of Seven, the Japanese news agency said.

Russian President Boris Yeltsin already has been invited to the G-7's annual summit this June in Denver, but still will not be granted full membership.

US President Bill Clinton is calling the session the "Summit of the Eight," Hashimoto said he favors continued Russian participation in the "G-7 plus one" talks begun in 1991 on selected issues dealing with politics, the environment and the fight against terrorism, Kyodo said.

Officials at Hashimoto's office could not be reached for confirmation.

Kyodo said that in a telephone conversation with Clinton last week before his summit meeting with Yeltsin, Hashimoto reminded the American president of Japan's territorial dispute with Russia.

Japan wants Russia to return several small northern islands seized by Soviet troops in the closing days of World War II in 1945. The issue has prevented the two sides from concluding a peace treaty formally ending the hostilities of that war.

Hashimoto is to confer today with US Vice President Al Gore, who arrived yesterday for a visit.

US exec embezzled at least \$80 million from Japanese firm

TOKYO (AP) — A Japanese meat packer said an executive at its US subsidiary embezzled between \$80 million and \$100 million over seven years through off-the-book borrowing from banks, Japanese media reported yesterday.

Hironori Okosko, the president of the subsidiary's parent, Osaka-based Nippon Meat Packers Inc., revealed the alleged embezzlement Saturday, the reports said.

Okosko said his company believed the executive, who he identified as Yasuyoshi Kato, 39, misappropriated the money to purchase real estate and stocks, the nationally-circulated Yomiuri newspaper reported.

Kato 39, is a board member of Day-Lee Foods Inc., a subsidiary of Nippon Meat Packers, and has been on loan to the subsidiary since 1982, the reports said, quoting Okosko.

Kato is believed to have started borrowing the money around 1990 from several Japanese banks in California, where the subsidiary is located, without permission from the company but on the pretext of needing it for company use, the reports quoted Okosko as saying.

Nippon Meat Packers first learned of Kato's alleged embezzlement after tax authorities in the US notified the company Wednesday, Kyodo News reported, quoting Okosko.

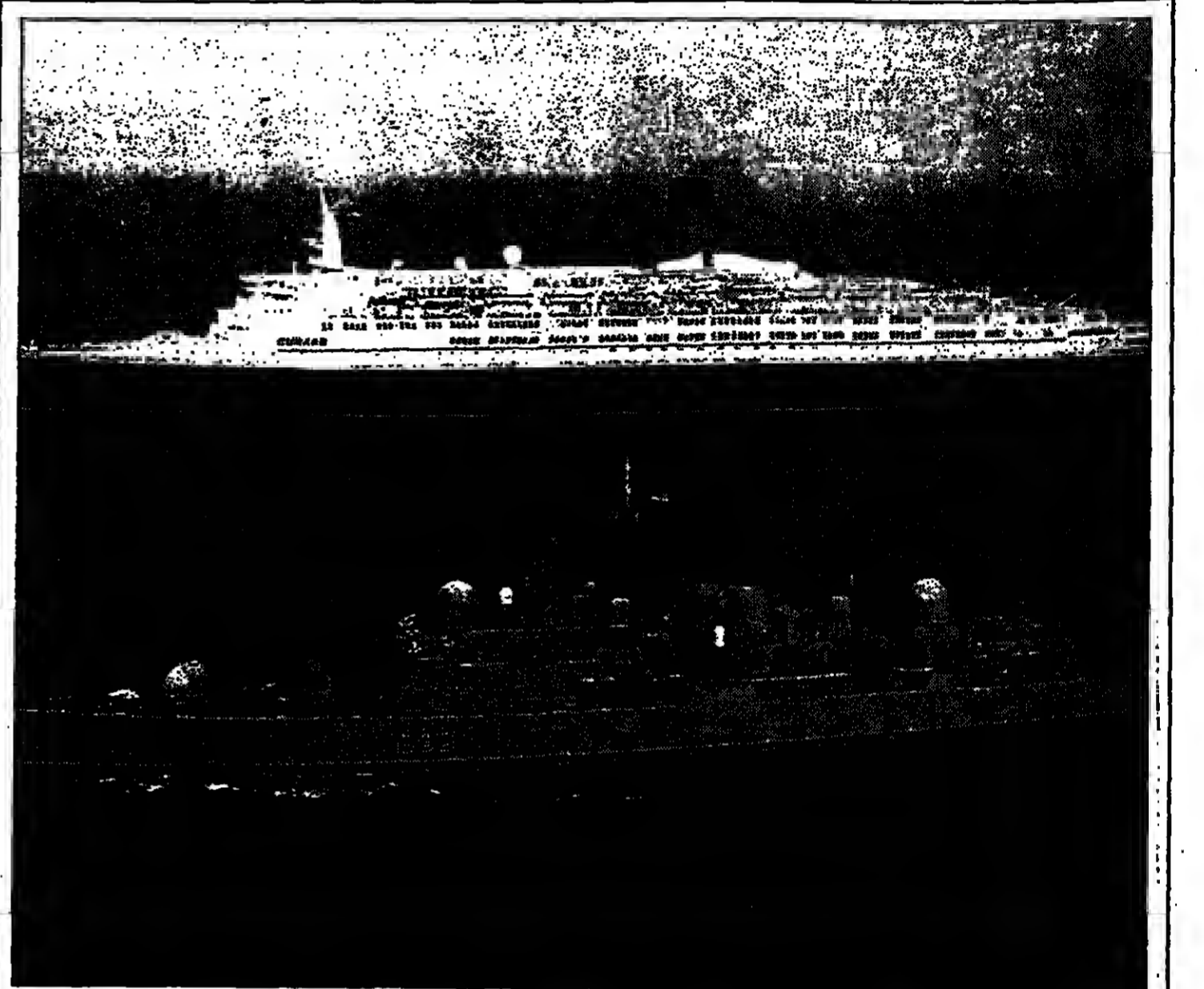
Day-Lee Foods was established in 1977 and processes, imports and exports meat and agricultural products, the Yomiuri said.

Okosko said it has annual sales of \$485 million, the paper reported.

With reserves of nearly 109 billion yen, besides capital, the embezzlement losses won't affect Nippon Meat Packers' operations, the Yomiuri quoted Okosko as telling reporters.

Okosko also said that Nippon Meat Packers will file a writ of attachment for Kato's personal assets in court in California today, the Yomiuri reported. He also said the company is considering filing claims for compensation, the newspaper said.

Nippon Meat Packers is one of Japan's top three meat processors and owns the Nippon Ham Fighters, a Japanese professional baseball team.



Around the world tour for QEII
HMS Southampton escorts the Cunard Line's flagship passenger liner, the QEII, through the Persian Gulf after calling on her maiden voyage to Dubai's Port Rashid yesterday. The QEII is currently on an around the world tour. (Reuters)

Microsoft aims for Windows year-end release

SEATTLE (Reuters) — Microsoft Corp. developers hope to release an update to the Windows 95 operating system by the end of the year, despite industry reports that the release date has slipped into 1998, officials said over the weekend.

Phil Holveo, product manager for the system update code-named "Memphis," said developers are on track to release a beta test version in the second quarter.

"We're working as hard as we can to make it a '97 product," Holveo said. But he said the final release date would depend on feedback from testers.

Memphis, also known as Windows 97 or Windows 9x, is expected to be a significant retail product because of major changes, including a new interface integrated with the forthcoming version 4.0 of Microsoft's Internet Explorer browser.

Holveo said the product would include other changes aimed at enhancing Internet functionality, as well as support for new hardware standards, including digital video disks.

"We definitely expect significant retail purchases," said Holveo.

Two trade industry publications said in their online versions this week that the release date of Memphis, also known as Windows 97, had slipped.

One of the publications, Computer Reseller News, said Microsoft officials had begun warning computer manufacturers not to expect the Memphis system to be available in time for the December holiday season.

Microsoft chairman Bill Gates this month confirmed that the next version of the company's high-end Windows NT operating system would not be available until sometime in the first half of 1998, later than originally anticipated.

Holveo said the delayed release of the Windows NT update would not affect timing of the Windows 9x product, which is aimed more at consumers and small businesses.

"Longer term we definitely have a goal of trying to synchronize the releases," Holveo said. "But the core goal at the moment is to try to get the products out as soon as we can."

Air France pilots vote to delay strike

PARIS (Reuters) — Air France pilots, drawing back from a showdown which might have forced the resignation of airline chairman Christian Blanc, voted to delay a four-day strike scheduled to begin yesterday.

Seventy percent of the pilots at the general assembly voted for a delay in the strike, an Air France spokeswoman said.

Blanc had threatened to resign if the stoppage went ahead.

He had estimated the strike would cost FR 1 billion, dashing his hopes of piloting Air France to financial breakeven this year and an early privatization.

The pilot's decision was confirmed in a vote by union representatives. Geoffroy Bouvet, head of the SNPL union, said 21 delegates had approved a motion to delay the strike by two months, seven opposed it, and five abstained.

Unions had called the strike from March 23 to 26 to protest against Blanc's plan to hire 450 younger pilots on lower wages.

Blanc wants to cut the flight crew wage bill by 15 percent, to bring it into line with its European and US rivals as part of a three-year plan to boost competitiveness. The company is under pressure to reduce costs, with the European air travel market opening up to full competition next month.

Air France had proposed to hire new pilots at a starting annual gross salary of FR 220,000, compared to the start-up pay of FR 330,000 that current pilots received when they began their careers.

According to French news reports, the new starting wage is higher than those of Lufthansa and British Airways and nearly 40% above starting wages at American Airlines.

WHERE TO GO

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WHAT'S ON IN HAIFA, dial 04-8374253.

Kohl rejects reshuffle talk, Euro delay

BONN (Reuters) — Germany's Chancellor Helmut Kohl, facing record unemployment and deadlock over sweeping tax reforms, yesterday dismissed rumors of a cabinet reshuffle and insisted the launch of Europe's single currency would go ahead on time.

The German leader told newspaper Welt am Sonntag he was certain his "excellent" team was capable of tackling the tasks that lay ahead of them. His optimistic remarks were his last before taking off for his annual Easter fitness holiday in the Austrian Alps.

Kohl said his ruling coalition was prepared to meet the opposition Social Democrats (SDP) for consensus talks on the much-needed tax reforms at any time, even before next weekend's Easter holiday, and blasted them for exploiting the deadlock to boost their standing ahead of the 1998 general election.

"We have 4.7 million unemployed and it's clear to everyone that we just don't have the time to wait for the SPD... to make up their minds," Kohl told the newspaper.

Although Kohl's coalition holds a majority of seats in the Bundestag lower house of parliament, the SPD can block most tax measures through its majority in the Bundesrat upper house.

Kohl warned SPD leaders, who pulled out of tax talks with the government in a clash over coal subsidy cuts two weeks ago, he would only resume talks without preconditions and that their blockade tactics could damage society's future chances.

"I would hope and trust that the Social Democrats would have the rational power to see these issues through," he said.

But SPD leader Oskar Lafontaine said he too was ready to meet Kohl at any time, saying the government had failed to come up with acceptable proposals and that joblessness was sky-high because of huge non-wage labor costs employers had to pay.

"We don't want tax cuts for people who will put the extra cash in savings accounts, but for employers and families, who will spend it tomorrow," Lafontaine told ZDF television.

Kohl argued the 1998 tax bill, that envisages tax cuts of DM 30 billion a year, would provide a crucial boost to flagging domestic investment and the desperate job situation.

The measures are also seen as essential to help whip Germany's finances into shape for European monetary union (EMU) due to be launched on January 1, 1999.

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Ramatana-Kfar Sava: Arim mail, Katznelson, Kfar Sava, 767-7908.
Nesanya: Ariela, 2 Salomon, 861-7836.
Haifa: Balfour, 1 Messuda, 892-2298.
Krayot area: Neveh Haim, 77 Moshe Sharati, Krayot Haim, 873-8002.
Herzliya: Clal Pharm, Beit Merkazim, 6 Maslov (near Sderot Hagalim), Herzliya Pithua, 955-8472, 955-8407. Open 9 a.m. to midnight.
Upper Nazareth: Clal Pharm, Lav Ha'ir Mail, 657-0488. Open 9 a.m. to 10 p.m.

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02-631-4111, 02-548-1133 (also in Russian), 07-637-8310, 08-855-8506 (also in Armenian).
Rapa Crisis Center (24 hours), Tel Aviv 523-4819, 544-9191 (men).
Jerusalem 625-5558, Haifa 853-0533, Eilat 633-1977.
Hadassah Medical Organization - Israeli Cancer Association support service 02-624-7876.

Monday
March 24, 1997

Eliyahu buys 36% stake in yalon Ins.

By GALT LEFKIS BECK

Eliyahu Holdings Ltd. and its subsidiaries have purchased a 36 percent stake in Yalon Insurance for \$11 million.

The deal is expected to help Yalon Insurance and Yalon Life Insurance compete in the insurance market which is dominated by five large insurance groups and has recently seen new competition from insurance companies in the direct market.

Under the agreement, Yalon and Eliyahu will operate as independent companies but cooperate in areas such as computer systems, product development and administrative services.

Yalon will hold 52 percent of the company, while Eliyahu will hold 48 percent.

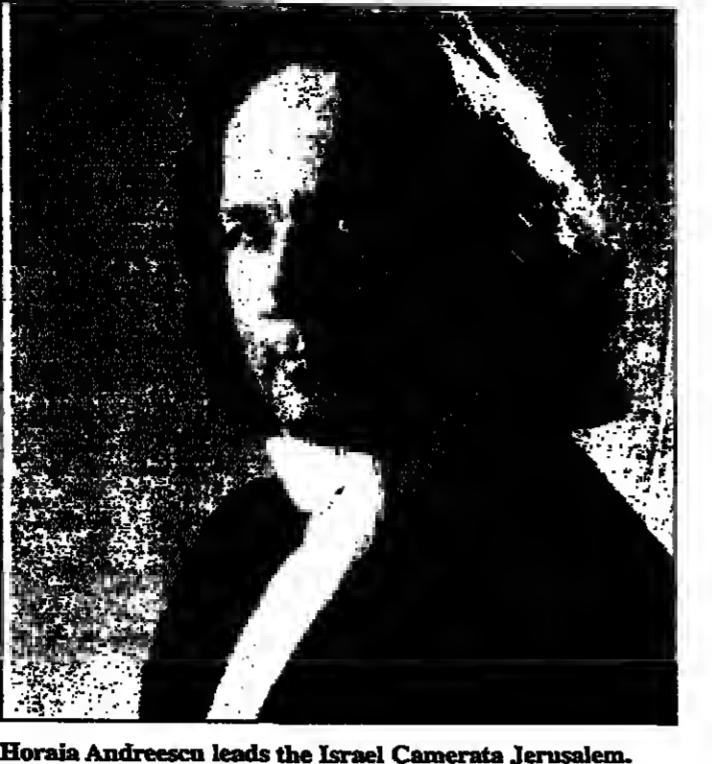
Yalon Insurance and Yalon Life Insurance were founded in 1992 and 1993 respectively. Eliyahu Holdings was founded in 1991.

CRITIC'S CHOICE

CLASSICAL MUSIC

MICHAEL AIZENSTADT

Moraja Andreescu leads the Israel Camerata Jerusalem in the premiere of Boris Pigovar's Nigun...



Moraja Andreescu leads the Israel Camerata Jerusalem.

Doron Salomon leads his Kibitz Chamber Orchestra in Elgar's Introduction and Allegro...

Gabriella (Sound of Music) Lewis and Rosa Howden share Laurey, Stephen Howden is her sweetheart...

DANCE

HELEN KAYE

The Israel Ballet goes south with Berta Yampolsky's lovely version of The Sleeping Beauty...

MUSICAL

HELEN KAYE

Can't say no to Oklahoma!, the Light Opera Group of the Negev (LOGON) production of Rogers and Hammerstein's all-time-great classic musical.

TELEVISION

ELANA CHIPMAN

Tonight Billy Crystal hosts the Oscar Award Ceremony in Hollywood. The Movie Channel will be broadcasting live from the site...

TV

00:00 News 00:05 Millennium - continued 00:25 Night Owl Talk 2:00 On the Edge of the Sheet

17:30 Cream with Michael Yansal 18:30 Sassoover 007 and a Half 19:30 Step by Step 20:20 Real Monsters 20:20 Married With Children

CABLE

16:00 Cartoons 16:20 The Thrust of Years 17:30 Panorama 18:00 Amoros 18:30 News in Arabic

PRIME TIME TV

Table with columns 1-6 and rows for various time slots (19:30, 20:00, 20:30, 21:00, 21:30, 22:00, 22:30, 23:00) listing programs and channels.

17:30 Cream with Michael Yansal 18:30 Sassoover 007 and a Half 19:30 Step by Step 20:20 Real Monsters 20:20 Married With Children

EUROSPORT

10:30 Soccer: World Cup Legends 11:30 Rugby: World Cup Sevens, Hong Kong 12:30 Skiing: World Cup, Slovenia 13:30 Nordic Combined Skiing: World Cup, Slovenia

RADIO

8:06 Morning Concert 9:06 Music for Purim 12:30 Light Classical - Tchaikovsky: Waltz from Swan Lake



CRYPTIC CROSSWORD

ACROSS 1 Mad way to score a goal (3,4,4) 8 Like an experienced teacher, be aware of the current procedure? (4,3,4) 11 Incursion made by soldiers Had followed (4)

Cryptic crossword grid with clues and solutions.

QUICK CROSSWORD

Quick crossword grid with clues and solutions.

MOVIES

JERUSALEM CINEMATHEQUE 84 Hours 5 * Merry Python Live at the Hollywood Bowl 7 * The Cabinet of Dr. Caligari 7 G.G. GIL Jerusalem Mail (Hebrew) #6784488 Pierce Crestures 11 a.m., 1:30, 4:45, 7:15, 9:45

Vertical text on the left margin, including 'red', 'Jerusalem Post', and 'yesterday'.

US Orthodox body to rule Reform, Conservative movements not Jewish

OU, RCA rabbis distance themselves from UOR

By TOM TUGEND and news agencies

LOS ANGELES - The oldest and most militant association of Orthodox rabbis in North America will release a formal ruling soon that the Conservative and Reform branches of Judaism are not Jewish under Jewish law.

The explosive declaration, which would deny the legitimacy of the groups that represent as many as 90 percent of US Jews, is to be announced next Monday at a news conference in New York by the Union of Orthodox Rabbis of the United States and Canada, according to *The Los Angeles Times*.

The Orthodox rabbis' aim is to persuade Conservative and Reform Jews to abandon their congregations and join Orthodox synagogues. It comes at a sensitive time, as the Conservative and Reform movements are fighting conversion legislation in Israel that would delegitimize conversions performed abroad by the movements' rabbis.

"The hope in America is that the many Jews now affiliated with the Reform and Conservative movements will...rethink their

continued associations," Rabbi David Hollander, who serves on the executive board of the Union of Orthodox Rabbis, told *The Times*. "They are being told they are being taught Judaism...it's a deception of innocent Jews."

Orthodox rabbis have long refused to recognize their Reform and Conservative counterparts. But the rabbinical union said its formal declaration will mark the first time an Orthodox rabbinical body has made such a declaration as a ruling in Jewish law.

The Times quoted a statement by the rabbinical union, describing its ruling as "a clarification call that, despite their brazen usurpation of the titles 'Judaism,' 'Jewish heritage,' 'Jewish tradition' and 'Jewish continuity,' Reform and Conservative are not Judaism at all. They are outside of Torah and outside of Judaism."

Conservative Rabbi Paul Dubin, executive vice president of the Board of Rabbis of Southern California, said it is important for the public to realize that "they are not dealing with the majority and mainstream Orthodox. But if it catches on fire and a lot

of other groups [join], this would be quite a split."

Reform leader Rabbi Harvey Fields of the Wilshire Boulevard Temple in Los Angeles described the Union of Orthodox Rabbis' ruling as evidence of a "dangerous fanaticism."

The 600-member Union of Orthodox Rabbis, founded in 1902, is described in the *Encyclopedia Judaica* as "militantly Orthodox." It is separate from the more moderate Union of Orthodox Jewish Congregations of America, generally known as the Orthodox Union, whose rabbinical arm, the Rabbinical Council of America, has more than 1,000 members.

Rabbi Alan Kalinsky, West Coast director of the Orthodox Union, described the declaration as "fighting words" and said he doubted it would be endorsed by the Rabbinical Council.

Rabbi Steven Dworkin, director of the Rabbinical Council of America said, "We don't want to disenfranchise any part of the Jewish community regardless of their religious observance, or their lack of it."

Reform, Masorti protest

By ARYEH DEAN COHEN

The Union of Orthodox Rabbis' planned declaration on Conservative and Reform Judaism drew severe criticism from leaders of those movements in Israel.

"This declaration is an indication of the growing rift that emanates from Israel, and impacts adversely on the Jewish community in North America," Rabbi Uri Regev, director of the Reform Movement's Religious Action Center, said.

Regev said the statement was connected to plans for legislation on conversion here, as well as other actions, like the Chief of Staff's recent instruction to ban army trips to Reform synagogues, after requests from Shas and Degel Hatorah.

"There is an attempt by the Orthodox political establishment to use the State of Israel as a tool in their anti-Reform or anti-liberal battle."

Regev said the latest developments pose a serious threat to cooperation that existed between various elements in the American Jewish community until now.

Asked about arguments that more Reform and Conservative Jews should come here if they want to influence such matters, Regev said: "I fully agree that more Reform and Conservative Jews should come here. I fully disagree that somehow the nature of civil rights and pluralism should be dependent on numbers."

Regev said he foresaw "a further sure move in the direction of a collision between Israel and world Jewry. I know that [Prime Minister Benjamin] Netanyahu is aware and sensitive to this problem, and because of that I welcome the attempts in recent days to open up channels of communication and dialogue, seeking some kind of an accommodation and compromise that would take the [conversion] legislation off the agenda."

Rabbi Einat Ramon, spokeswoman for the Conservative/Masorti Movement said the rabbis' declaration boiled down to the idea that "there's no reason to leave the gate of Israel open to Conservative and Reform Jews...If the Jewish people and the State of Israel take the pluralistic path, then there will be room for everyone, including the Orthodox. If the Orthodox dominate, this will split the Jewish people in two."

WEATHER

Haifa	9-15
Tiberias	8-15
Afula	6-14
Samarra	6-8
Tel Aviv	9-14
Jerusalem	5-7
Beersheva	7-14
Dead Sea	14-22
Eilat	10-22

Forecast: Rain.

AROUND THE WORLD

City	Low	High	Cloud
Amsterdam	01	08	clear
Berlin	02	05	clear
Buenos Aires	18	24	clear
Card	09	18	cloudy
Chicago	-01	08	cloudy
Copenhagen	-04	05	cloudy
Frankfurt	-02	09	cloudy
Geneva	-01	10	cloudy
Helsinki	-14	07	cloudy
Hong Kong	15	17	clear
Johannesburg	13	18	clear
London	07	12	cloudy
Los Angeles	13	18	cloudy

Winning cards

The winning cards in yesterday's daily Mifal Hapais Chance drawing were the 10 of spades, the eight of hearts, the jack of diamonds and the ace of clubs.

Burg: Maintain religious status quo

By Jerusalem Post Staff

Jewish Agency Chairman Avraham Burg yesterday expressed his deep concern about any change in the religious status quo in Israel and called on the Knesset to prevent changes to the conversion law that would further divide the Jewish people.

Burg was reacting to the cabinet's decision Friday to approve the narrow language of the proposed conversion law, and to stands on the issue taken by the religious parties that want to pass legislation stating that conversions

performed abroad would only be recognized here when performed by Orthodox rabbis. Burg warned of the division this would create within the Jewish people.

"We must not forsake the unity of the Jewish people," Burg said, "just because of internal divisions inside Israel. We must understand the implications this law has on life in Jewish communities abroad, and refrain from any change that could lead to distancing between Diaspora Jewry and Israel."

In a statement, Burg said there was "no alternative" to dialogue

between various elements in the Jewish people here and abroad, and called for a continuation of the dialogue between the Jewish Agency - representing Diaspora Jewry - and the government as the representative of the state on matters related to the unity of the Jewish people.

Burg urged the Knesset to accept the Jewish Agency's proposal to the cabinet, which calls for refraining from legislation that undermines the religious status quo.

The agency established a special committee for the "unity of

the Jewish people" to represent all streams of Judaism to the government on religious legislation. In October, that group presented a document to the government asking it to refrain from such legislation and to refrain from any change in the Law of Return.

Clalit workers to strike tomorrow

By JUDY SIEGEL

Over 8,000 maintenance and auxiliary workers and administrative personnel will hold a one-day strike tomorrow in Kupat Holim Clalit hospitals and community clinics around the country. The

strike begins at 7 a.m. Union chairman Prosper Ben-Hamu accused the health fund's management of refusing to implement a wage agreement signed on September 1, 1993, for hospital workers. The contract added three more salary levels to

the wage schedule, and all workers were to have jumped ahead three levels.

Ben-Hamu also charged that management had not carried out its commitment to shorten the period of remaining in a single salary level from three to two years.

The strike, forcing Clalit to function on a reduced Shabbat schedule, will include both permanent and temporary workers, shutting down telephone exchanges, reception, collection of fees, laundry and other services. The union said they wouldn't allow contractors or volunteers to take their places.

Clalit spokeswoman Rahel Bluestein said negotiations are being carried out intensively to discuss the issues, and another session - to include Treasury officials - is due to be held today.

"It's a shame to waste the strike weapon when progress can be made in talks," she said.



Purim in Hebron
Purim celebrants march up Shuhada Street in Hebron yesterday under the watchful eye of soldiers and police. (Bryan McBarney)

Rubinstein, Arbel rap Lieberman police slurs

By BAT SHEVA TSUR

The attorney-general and state attorney yesterday came to the defense of the police team investi-

gating the Bar-On affair, following reports that Prime Minister's Office director-general Avigdor Lieberman accused the police of "political motives."

In a joint statement, Elyakim Rubinstein and Edna Arbel said they "regretted any reference, if there was such, according to which the police investigating [the

affair] have political motives."

In reference to reports that Lieberman made such remarks while he was being interrogated, Rubinstein and Arbel added, they wanted to clarify that "the police are doing their work in accordance with the law and in a professional manner, without any [outside] interest."

The clarification was apparently sparked by a Friday report in *Ma'ariv*, which said Lieberman had hurled insults at the police who last week investigated him for the second time in connection with the appointment of Roni Bar-On as attorney-general.

Meanwhile, Justice Minister Tzahi Hanegbi is to be questioned again by police today as part of the ongoing Bar-On affair investigation.

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"YOU WILL FIND NO MORE MOVING ACCOUNT OF WILFUL SELF-DESTRUCTION" Daily Mail

JERUSALEM, Jerusalem Theatre, Rebecca Crown Auditorium: Thur. 27.3.97, 8:30 p.m.; DRYAN THOMAS, Sat. 29.3.97, 8:00 p.m.; TRUMAN CAPOTE, REHOVOT, Eilat Auditorium, Weizmann Institute: Sun. 30.3.97, 8:30 p.m.; DRYAN THOMAS, KFAR-SABA, Saphir Auditorium: Mon. 31.3.97, 8:30 p.m.; DRYAN THOMAS, Be'er-Gabriel at KINNERET: Tues. 1.4.97, 8:30 p.m.; DRYAN THOMAS, BE'ER-SHEVA, Ben-Gurion University, Sosenfeld Auditorium: Wed. 2.4.97, 8:30 p.m.; TRUMAN CAPOTE, TEL-AVIV, Suzanne Dellal Center: Thur. 3.4.97, 8:30 p.m., Fri. 4.4.97, 10:00 p.m.; DRYAN THOMAS, Sat. 5.4.97, 5:00 p.m., 9:00 p.m.; TRUMAN CAPOTE, HAIFA, Technion Cinema Hall: Sun. 6.4.97, 6:00 p.m.; DRYAN THOMAS, 9:00 p.m.; TRUMAN CAPOTE.

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